

Vol. XXVII.

JULY-DECEMBER, 1936

No. 34

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY  
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by  
JOHN L. GERIG



Published by  
**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
HEPBURN AND EDWIN STS., WILLIAMSPORT, PA., and  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Williamsport, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879

# *A Very Useful Book*

## **Modern Spanish Prose Readings: 1830-1930**

Edited by WILLIAM E. KNICKERBOCKER, Ph.D., Professor of Romance Languages, The City College, New York, and BERNARD LEVY, Ph.D., Instructor in Romance Languages, The City College, New York. Preface, introduction, bibliography. 12 mo. 420 pp.

A rich collection of typical selections from the works of modern Spanish prose writers, dramatists excluded. With a few exceptions each selection is a unit in itself and each is truly representative of its author's esthetic and literary qualities. The material deals with the various regions of Spain, its custom, its history, its philosophical and political problems, and to some extent with its social evolution. A general introduction and individual biographical sketches in Spanish supplement the selections.

*Authors Represented:* Mariano José de Larra; Mesonero Romanos; Fernán Caballero; Pedro de Alarcón; Pereda Pérez Galdós; Juan Valera; J. Octavio Picón; Pardo Bazán; Leopoldo Alas; Blasco Ibáñez; Palacio Valdés; Pío Baroja; Ramón del Valle-Inclán; Ricardo León; Pérez de Ayala; Concha Espina; Menéndez y Pelayo; Angel Ganivet; Miguel de Unamuno; José Martínez Ruiz; Ortega y Gasset.

**D. APPLETON  
CENTURY  
COMPANY**

35 West 32nd St.  
New York

2126 Prairie Ave.  
Chicago

## **Williamsport Printing & Binding Company**

### **PRINTERS and BINDERS**

An organization offering unusual facilities for  
the intelligent production of

**BOOKS BROCHURES THESES  
DISSERTATIONS and PUBLICATIONS**

*We invite you to consult us  
regarding your requirements*

**431-439 HEPBURN STREET  
WILLIAMSPORT, PENNSYLVANIA**

[ *Printers of The Romanic Review* ]



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXVII—JULY—DECEMBER 1936—Nos. 3-4

## THE DEBATE FOR PRECEDENCE BETWEEN MEDICINE AND LAW: FURTHER EXAMPLES FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

**A**N article, "Medicine Versus Law in Late Medieval and Medicean Florence", contributed to *THE ROMANIC REVIEW* in 1926,<sup>1</sup> appeared in enlarged form with an appendix on "Other Examples of Debates: Medicine Versus Law", in 1929 in my *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*.<sup>2</sup> Since then further treatments of the same theme have been encountered. First may be noted two examples from the earlier half of the 14th century, then a word more may be said about the 15th century, and finally the persistence of the discussion into early modern times may be illustrated.

Albertinus de S. Petro of Cremona, a doctor of philosophy and medicine who taught at Ferrara about 1336 and died at Cremona in 1353, is said by Borsetti<sup>3</sup> to have written a work on the question whether medicine was an art or a science. It may well have included some comparison of medicine with law.

In a Vatican MS is preserved the last page of remarks by a master Julian de Proamptis in honor of medicine at the opening of the university in 1342 A. D. These remarks consisted of a speech or *sermo* and a *questio* or piece of argumentation. We have only the close of the latter in which Julian discusses whether medicine or law is the nobler and worthier. The laws have the nobler object since they concern the will, while canon law as subalterned to sacred theology and to spiritual and divine things is above both medicine and civil law. To attain justice, civil lawyers ought to study moral philosophy, but they don't and therefore Julian regards medicine as nobler than civil law, although he grants that moral philosophy is nobler

<sup>1</sup> XVII, 8-31.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 24-58, 261-64.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia almi Ferrariae gymnasil*, II (1731), 2-3.

than medicine. In popular opinion the laws are nobler but Julian does not feel obliged to accept popular opinion.<sup>4</sup> Presumably this is the same master Julian as the Julian of Bologna by whom there are several *utrams* and *quotlibeta* earlier in the same MS. The university in question would therefore seem to be Bologna.

The debate found echoes even in the works of theologians. In the *Summa* of Antonino, Archbishop of Florence (1446-1459), with its wide range over questions of economic, social and intellectual interest, and its abundant citations and quotations from a host of previous writers, the matter is discussed briefly, following an earlier lead of Agostino Trionfo (1243-1328). I quote the body of the passage:

"Next it is asked, which is worthier, the science of medicine or the science of law. To which Augustine of Ancona, *ubi supra*, responds that one science may be worthier than another in three ways.

1. With respect to its subject matter
2. With respect to its method
3. With respect to its purpose.

And in the first respect, that is, subject matter, metaphysics is worthier than any other, since its subject is entity as entity. From the standpoint of method, mathematics is superior to natural philosophy, since it considers by way of abstraction. So far as purpose goes, architectomatics are worthier than their subservient arts just as the military art is more dignified than bridle-making. Therefore the science of medicine seems worthier than other practical sciences since it concerns the body, hale, ill and neither, which body is the organ of the soul and of all human activities. But with respect to purpose, legal or military science seems worthier, since it is ordained to maintain the public good, which is advantageous to every particular person. But with respect to method or certitude in treatment, both seem to have their failings (*videntur se habere sicut excedentia et excessa*), since just as medical rules vary with varying human complexions, so the rules of law vary with different conditions of the people, as Augustine says in *On Free Will*. Since therefore both medicine and law have their irregularities and both are from God and either is quite necessary to men, therefore jurists and physicians ought to observe the command of the Apostle, 'In honor preferring one another' (*Romans*, xii) and not condemn and deride one another, the jurists calling physicians mid-wives and the physicians calling jurists cows and donkeys as if reputed their science crude."<sup>5</sup>

In the middle of the 15th century Bartholomaeus Facius showed the influence of such debates in the transition passage from lawyers to physi-

<sup>4</sup> Vatic. 2418, fol. 227r, col. 1: "Quantum vero ad quartum et ultimum principale restat videre de operatione scientie medicine ad scientiam legalem ratione nobilitatis et dignitatis earum videlicet que earum nobilior et dignior dici debet . . . / . . . Dicta a magistro Iuliano de Proamptis ad honorem medicine in principio studii anno domini M° CCC° xlii° scilicet sermo et quedam questio."

<sup>5</sup> Antoninus, *Summa*, 4 vols., Anthonius Koberger, Nürnberg, 1486-1487 (Hain 1246, *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2189): III, f, ii, 4.

cians in his book on illustrious men.<sup>6</sup> He stated that in well administered states the highest honor was paid to both professions, "although somewhat more to the jurisconsults." But he hardly knew which profession was more beneficial to humanity.

The dialogue in a Digby MS at the Bodleian<sup>7</sup> dedicated to Andrea Piccolomini of Siena which I briefly noticed in 1929 and surmised was "probably an imitation" of those I had already described, turned out upon examination to be in large part a shameless plagiarism of John of Arezzo's dialogue — unless indeed it too is by John of Arezzo. But one of the interlocutors speaks slightly of the women of Florence and prefers "ours of Bologna."<sup>8</sup> Basterius of Florence is again adduced as an example of a medical charlatan,<sup>9</sup> but Bistichius is not mentioned. The dialogue is briefer than that of John of Arezzo addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici and seems to have little or no independent value.

The extent to which men's thoughts tend to run on in the same ruts is well illustrated by the continuation of the old debate as to the relative merits of law and medicine and the legal and medical professions through the 16th and into the 17th century. Henri Corneille Agrippa, it is true, in the 82nd chapter of *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* satirized this dispute for precedence by saying that law precedes medicine as a thief precedes the executioner to the scaffold. But more serious discussions continued. Ferdinandus Abduensis, a patrician of Milan, published at Bologna in 1566 "An Oration Against the Vituperators of Jurisprudence, in which he manifestly declares that the laws are much to be preferred to medicine and to the arts of philosophy."<sup>10</sup> This short work of 33 leaves was replied to in the course of time by Ioannes Baptista Pellegrinus of Bologna, whose

<sup>6</sup> *De viris illustribus*, ed. L. Mehus, Florence, 1745, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Digby 131: at fol. 1r the dedication opens, "Etsi magnopere cuperem insignis ac generose miles Andrea Piccolomine te munusculo aliquo tibi grato . . ." It ends at fol. 1v with this sentence, which is almost identical with the last sentence of John of Arezzo's preface to Lorenzo de' Medici (quoted in *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 36, n. 43): "Si vero rem humili nimium stilo agitaverim id libentius feci ut muliercule et vulgares suas facilius intueantur errores." The rubric at fol. 2r reads, "Opusculum de medicina ac legali scientia que dignior sit atque medicine causis cur vilior videatur. Carolus Ghislierius legista et miles et Petrus Iohannitius medicus ad Nicolaum de Fabis veniunt sed a Petro primo sermo oritur." Then the work opens, "Sepe ego confabulari soleo Nicholae vir singularissime cum hoc Carolo ornatissimo viro . . ." Compare these wordings with those of John of Arezzo quoted in *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 30, n. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Digby 131, fol. 8r, "fatuis mulieribus florentinis presertim ut Bononienses excipiam"; fol. 8v, "sunt enim florentine mulieres ut nostras semper deviam(?) Bononienses suis maritis sine testibus . . ." See also fol. 19v, "nostra Bononia."

<sup>9</sup> Digby 131, fol. 12r.

<sup>10</sup> *Contra iurisperitiae vituperatores oratio qua manifeste declarat leges plurimum medicinas philosophiasque artibus antefereudas esse*, Bononiae, Peregrinus Bonardus exudebat Mensis Maij MDLXVI. The work was reprinted with that of Pellegrinus which is the edition I have used.

*Defense Against the Calumniators of Philosophy and Medicine* appeared in that city in 1582.<sup>11</sup> It filled 269 leaves of italics, followed by a long index in Roman type. The length of the work was largely due to excessive digression, since the author discussed forms of government and pretty much everything in addition to his main theme. For example, he argues that human imagination cannot act on a foreign body, that wonderment is the beginning of philosophy, whether nature is without reason, why demons do not perform so many marvels today as they once did, and that Aristotle did not believe in the existence of demons. He further discusses the order of Aristotle's books of moral philosophy, and spends considerable time on the soul, intellect and *summum bonum*. At the end of the volume he explains that his statement at page 24 that duelling is licit was made before the Council of Trent had passed on the matter. It may be recalled that John of Arezzo in his work on the *Superiority of Medicine and Law* addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici had similarly indulged in social and political digression.

In connection with his main theme Pellegrinus asserts that education and character are essential to the physician, that medicine is superior to the liberal arts, that laws are less essential than medicine, that inspection of excrements does not detract from the nobility of medicine, that the contemplative life is preferable to the active, that philosophy and medicine rank ahead of canon law, that Cicero esteemed philosophy above the law, and that Pico della Mirandola left the study of law to devote himself to philosophy. In reply to the old argument that lawyers alone received the title, *dominus*, Pellegrinus holds that the title of master is worthier, and that wealth and social rank cannot augment nobility of mind and soul. He raises the question whether the military art is nobler than jurisprudence, and admits that theology is the highest of all faculties.

In answering the contention that Jews can attain the doctorate in medicine but not in law, Pellegrinus affirms that no Jew has ever been promoted to the doctorate in medicine at the university of Bologna, and that papal decrees forbid Jews to practice medicine among Christians even if they have received the degree. He then adds: that he does not deny that upright persons are found among the Jews but that for the most part they are tricky (*vafri*) and enemies of the Christian name.<sup>12</sup>

Pellegrinus not merely wrote in reply to Ferdinandus Abduensis but also adduced and rebutted many arguments for the superiority of the law over philosophy and medicine which had been advanced by Andrea Barbatia in one of his legal commentaries. This Andreas Barbazza of Sicily takes

<sup>11</sup> *Adversus philosophiae et medicinae calumniatores apologia*, Bononiae apud Caesarem Salvietum, 1582.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 215r-v.

us back to the 15th century, when he was professor of law at Bologna from 1450 to 1479.<sup>13</sup> He received the doctorate at Bologna according to Orlandi<sup>14</sup> in 1439. Gesner listed various legal works by him.

In the early years of the 17th century the subject was once again ventilated by Hyppolitus or Hippolitus Obicius, the first third of whose tripartite dialogue dealt with the nobility of the physician against his detractors and proved that the medical man was nobler than the jurist. The work was first published at Venice in 1605<sup>15</sup> and then at Mainz in 1619.<sup>16</sup> Obicius was a native of Ferrara who lectured at its university on materia medica or medicinal simples and then practiced medicine at Belluno, apparently as municipal physician and perhaps also, as some say, at Venice. In his medical writings he recommended the use of wine in fevers, attacked the static medicine of Sanctorius, and defended astrological medicine. In our present work he contends that medicine is a broader field than jurisprudence, that every physician is a philosopher, but only certain jurists like Baldus and Petrus Gregorius Tolosanus, whereas many in his time neglect logic and philosophy. Medical men, like philosophers, employ reason, while lawyers rely on authorities. Medicine and philosophy deal with more abstruse and secret causes than does the law. Albert of Ghent, although himself a jurisconsult, made the distinction that jurists are concerned with inanimate things, physicians with the animate body, and theologians with the soul itself. They also, however, have to do with sin, which is fouler than even the nasty substances employed in medicine or the latrines over whose location lawsuits are waged.

Most of Obicius' space is devoted to a rebuttal of the arguments and laws adduced by Tiraquellus (1480-1558) in his *Commentarii de nobilitate*,<sup>17</sup> who had adduced various laws to indicate that in times past medical men were on a social level with slaves and mechanics. Obicius tries to find in canon law a text indicating the superior nobility of physicians. He notes cases of kings and popes who were physicians and repeats Pellegrinus' statement that Pico abandoned the law for philosophy. More novel appears his argument that medicine was concerned with more things than the law. Had

<sup>13</sup> U. Dallari, *I rotuli*.

<sup>14</sup> *Notizie degli scrittori Bolognese*, 1714.

<sup>15</sup> This edition is contained in the British Museum: shelf-mark 551.a.1.(2.).

<sup>16</sup> *De nobilitate medici contra illius obrectatores dialogus tripartitus in quo . . . comprobatur medicum iurisprudente esse nobilior . . . auctore Hyppolito Obicio medico et philosopho Ferrariensi olim in patrio gymnasio simplicium medicamentorum publico lectore nunc Venetiis medicinam faciente*, Moguntiae Ex officina typographica Ioannis Albini, MDCXIX. I consulted this edition at the National library, Munich. The part of the volume devoted to the respective merits of medicine and law covers pp. 1-130.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Paris, 1549, folio, Jac. Kerber; also in 1561, 1573, 1579, 1617, and in his *Opera omnia*, 1597; English translation, 1670.



not Ulysses Aldrovandi at Bologna, a man never sufficiently praised and most erudite in all sciences, distinguished nearly 20,000 different species of minerals, plants and animals, of which 3,000 were his own discoveries? With their natures, generations, causes, and virtues, whether manifest or occult and dependent on sympathy and antipathy, medicine must deal.

Bearing somewhat indirectly upon our theme is a passage quoted by Germain from the Book of the Rector at Montpellier in 1502, in which the "university" of both laws charges the *medici* with trying — in their public shows each year (*in eorum ludis publicis*) — to injure and defame "the pearls of canon and civil law" and to compare these to their own "most foul operations." Such attacks and insults are to be stoutly resisted.<sup>18</sup>

LYNN THORNDIKE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

#### THE VICTOR HUGO LEGEND

THE "Victor Hugo legend" has survived much longer in America than in the place of its birth. And it will undoubtedly continue to prevail with the general reading public, for it is made up of bright, captivating anecdotes, which always hold the public interest better than accurate but prosaic records. At the time when Hugo and his disciples were making provision for his posthumous fame, the legend pleased the American mind: it seemed perfectly fitting that the humanitarian who had given us *Les Misérables* should be a man of the highest personal integrity, a Prometheus chained to the Channel rock, a prophet *couvert d'ombre*. His abilities as a *raconteur* had already gained for Hugo a large circle of American readers; so it is not surprising that we accepted his autobiography as willingly as we accepted his more manifest fictions. Thus, Hugo acquired an advantage over other European authors, for whereas most of them, if they reached the American public at all, were comfortably shelved in our libraries and left to gather mould, we found it possible to tell stories about Hugo. When the Boston publishers, Dana Estes & Co., issued their large edition of his works, they included, as a matter of course, the great textbook of the Hugo legend, the *Life* by Hugo's disciple, Alfred Barbou, — and in their preface to this compendium of misinformation, the publishers naïvely remarked that they were sure the details must be correct, because the whole work had been checked over by the Master himself.

Our indifferences to subjects of literary controversy has always prompted us to let sleeping poets lie. Immediately after the poet's death in 1885,

<sup>18</sup> A. Germain, *La Renaissance à Montpellier*, 1871, Tome VI, *Mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de Montpellier*.



there was an influx of English biographies of Hugo (not one of which was complete or authentic), but the subject had lost its interest for Americans by the end of the century. The long controversy in France, which brought to light the true facts concerning Hugo's fabrications and the apocryphal stories of Barbou, received almost no attention here. The great deflator, Edmond Biré, the only one of his contemporaries who investigated Hugo's career with any accuracy, was never translated, nor was Charles Renouvier, who exposed the weakness of Hugo's claims to philosophical eminence. And so the legend continued to flourish in America through the first decades of the century until Prof. Giese, of Wisconsin, dealt it a heavy blow with his *Victor Hugo, the Man and the Poet* (1926). This book gave some information about Hugo's life, — enough to discredit Hugo's and Barbou's anecdotes — but it was not a biography. Prof. Giese's main purpose was that of deflating Hugo's poetical reputation. His work, while it achieved this purpose to some extent, has not received as much attention as it deserves, perhaps because Prof. Giese seemed to have lost patience with the poet too easily. At any rate, the American public has yet to be told the true and complete story of Hugo's life.

Prof. Albert Schinz has recently propounded in the *French Review* certain theories of Hugo's political life and thought, and certain views of his poetry, which seem almost to disregard the results of former researches on these subjects. Announcing (in the November, 1935, issue) that the French public has accorded Hugo "a definitive concentration and a brevet of immortality", Prof. Schinz proceeded to commemorate him as a great humanitarian poet, champion of universal peace, promoter of the idea of *Les États-Unis d'Europe*, and independent political thinker. In order to validate these claims, he then presented a few isolated facts of Hugo's political career and examples of his work, and regarded them from a particular point of view — leaving untouched and unanswered a great mass of biographical material and evidence which would give support to a very different point of view. Inasmuch as a good deal of misinformation still circulates freely even in our universities, it would seem decidedly worth while to fill in the part of the picture which Prof. Schinz has failed to include, for the benefit of readers who cannot have access to the whole body of controversial literature on this subject.

\* \* \*

Among English and American readers, Hugo's reputation as a humanitarian novelist far transcends his reputation as a poet. The peculiar magic of his poetry cannot be rendered in any language but that in which it was written, and so it has never been perfectly understood or enjoyed outside

of France. But with a good adventure story as his vehicle, as in *Les Misérables*, Hugo succeeded in making a humanitarian appeal which has been at least locally effective throughout the literary world. Certainly in this country, his apology for the thief, Jean Valjean, has usually enlisted deep sympathy, — the same sympathy which keeps our racketeers and gangsters out of jail. In England, on the other hand, very few readers have admired *Les Misérables*, for the whole attitude of the nation is hostile to the convict and to the easy sophistry which would unload his guilt onto the shoulders of that inaccessible scapegoat, "society".

But when we have granted that Hugo succeeded in moving the sympathies of susceptible novel-readers, it remains to be proved that he was a great humanitarian poet. For it is precisely where Hugo's humanitarianism coincides with his poetic fancy, that it contradicts itself most obviously.

Prof. Schinz correctly states that Hugo based his humanitarian hopes, not on laws, nor science, nor even religion, but on "cette bonté foncière", the sentiment of pity which resides in each human breast. The best parts of his humanitarian work are those which appeal directly and simply to this sentiment: the story of Mgr. Bienvenu, whose "pitié naturelle pour les souffrances du prochain" gave his life such dignity and joy, for instance, or the story of *Les Pauvres Gens*. Had Victor Hugo confined himself to this sort of direct, simple appeal, he would have been ultimately more successful. But he made two mistakes, either one of which would have hopelessly blurred the effect of his work, and which together render it almost meaningless to the thoughtful reader. Like a snow-ball rolling down-hill, Hugo's pity fattened itself upon all that it met, until finally it grew beyond the limits of human comprehension. And when it encountered the problem of justice, as it inevitably had to do, his pity did not hesitate to swallow up justice also.

Readers whose sympathies were forcibly moved when Hugo described the plight of Valjean, Cosette and Fantine in vivid prose were quite as willing to sympathize with *Les Pauvres Gens* when Hugo portrayed them in magic poetry. But they probably hesitated a moment before offering condolences to *Le Crapaud*. Perhaps the toad did not merit such serious consideration as the man; indeed, it seemed almost distressing to have to pity them both. But even when the reader had been prevailed upon to accept the claims of the poor man, the prisoner and the toad with equal sobriety, this was not enough. Whether because he needed a new subject, or because his imagination could find no limit, Hugo decided to carry humanitarianism further still. With a final convulsive effort, his sympathy pushed itself completely out of the animal world: the *Bouche d'Ombre*

sounded forth, and required the reader to pity trees, rocks, axes and steel bolts. If this had been Samuel Butler, arguing for the rights of vegetables, one might have been willing to enjoy the fun, . . . — but no, it was Victor Hugo, and he was in earnest:

"Ayez pitié! voyez des âmes dans les choses...  
Ce qu'on prend pour un mont est une hydre; ces arbres  
Sont des bêtes; ces rocs hurlent avec fureur...

Plaignez le prisonnier, mais plaignez le verrou...  
La hâche souffre autant que le corps."<sup>1</sup>

When he asks pity for the prisoner and for the bolts which lock him in, a sensible reader can only reply that M. Hugo is being silly, and destroying the effectiveness of his appeal.

What caused Hugo to pour out his sympathy with such a prodigal hand, was his belief in the irresponsibility of the individual:

"Ah! vous voulez qu'on soit responsable? De quoi?  
D'être homme de tel siècle ou bien fils de tel roi?

Sait-on pourquoi l'on vient et d'où l'on est venu?  
Le foetus choisit-il son destin?"<sup>2</sup>

Hugo solved these self-imposed problems by a simple negation, and then proceeded to expound the doctrine of universal toleration, — which seemed to follow logically enough, since no man could be blamed for the work of destiny. But this very same doctrine of universal pity is contradicted in his own poems, when he pleads against reprisals, and blames the conqueror for cruelty, as in *L'Année terrible*. He forgot to pity the conqueror and the avenger, thus exposing himself to the embarrassing comment of M. Charles Renouvier: "Le vainqueur est excusable, si le vaincu l'est, et pour la même raison; . . . alors il ne faut pas prétendre juger."<sup>3</sup> Here we come face to face with the problem of justice: are we to pity everything, or must we decide how our pity is to be distributed? Surely he who can pity both the thief and the bolts which keep him in jail can do a little more: he can pity both the thief and the thief's victim. And then he must decide between them.

The self-annihilation of Hugo's humanitarian thought has been most clearly demonstrated by M. Renouvier, whom Prof. Schinz seems to consider such an admirer of Victor Hugo *philosophe*. Of Hugo's failure to decide between the thief and his victim, M. Renouvier has said:

"Le nom de la justice était trop beau pour qu'il voulût en priver ses vers,

<sup>1</sup> *Les Contemplations*; ("Ce que dit la Bouche d'Ombre").

<sup>2</sup> *La Pitié suprême*; X.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Renouvier. *Victor Hugo le Philosophe*, Paris, 1900, p. 171.

et il en a paré les plus magnifiques, en prenant ce biais de dire que, l'homme n'étant pas responsable, c'est la pitié qui est elle-même la justice."<sup>4</sup>

I do not mean to suggest that all poetry is to be judged only by the severe standards of logic. Indeed, it would seem a waste of time to raise such questions as these, were it not for the fact that Hugo himself has insisted that we learn the philosophical and social lessons of his poems. He so often reminded us that he was leading us out of darkness into light, that we cannot help feeling annoyed when we search for a meaning in the poems and find none. To properly enjoy such poetry requires not only blind admiration, but a temporary lapse of the reasoning faculty. The verses in which Hugo asked the King to pity the condemned Armand Barbès, for instance, may satisfy, may even seem plausible to Hugo's warmer admirers (Prof. Schinz has considered them worthy of citation), but they were capable of arousing a certain W. M. Thackeray, none too fastidious a reader, to positive fury:

"In any country save this," wrote Thackeray from Paris, "would a poet who chose to write four crack-brained verses, comparing an angel to a dove, and a little boy to a reed, and calling upon the chief magistrate, in the name of the angel, or dove (the Princess Mary), in her tomb, and the little infant in his cradle, to spare a criminal, have received a 'gracious answer' to his nonsense? . . . Suppose the Count of Paris to be twenty times a reed, and the Princess Mary a host of angels, is that any reason why the law should not have its course? Justice is the God of our lower world, . . . as such it moves, or should move on majestic, awful, irresistible, . . . but, in the very midst of the path across which it is to pass, lo! M. Victor Hugo trips forward, smirking, and says, O divine Justice! I will trouble you to listen to the following trifling effusion of mine:—

'Par votre ange envolée, ainsi qu'une colombe,  
Par le royal enfant, doux et frère roseau,  
Grace encore une fois! Grace au nom de la tombe!  
Grace au nom du berceau!'

Awful Justice stops, and, bowing gravely, listens to M. Hugo's verses, and with true French politeness, says, 'Mon cher Monsieur, these verses are charming, ravissants, délicieux and, coming from such a *célébrité littéraire* as yourself, shall meet with every possible attention . . . ' . . . Sham liberty, sham monarchy, sham glory, sham justice, — *où diable donc la vérité va-t-elle se nicher?*"<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \*

The failure of this humanitarian appeal was caused by the poet's irresponsibility, his refusal to see the implications of the terms which he used, or think through the problems which they raised. The same method of playing with words and ideas made of Hugo's political career a confused

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. Thackeray, *Paris Sketch Book*, Boston, Estes & Lauriat, 1883, pp. 36-37.

series of empty gestures, and it renders useless what remains of his political thought. Prof. Schinz has carefully traced Hugo's efforts to further the cause of universal peace and pave the way for the "United States of Europe", but it will be found that in these efforts also, Hugo's careless thinking defeated itself.

Hugo's claims as a champion of European unity and world peace are not those of a technical expert, but of a prophet. The principles on which the "United States of Europe" might be built were elaborated, somewhat vaguely, by the poet, but for the most part he confined himself to scattering such Sybilline leaves as the one to which Prof. Schinz refers, on which was written the glowing prophecy of a representative of "un parti qui n'existe pas encore, le parti Révolution-Civilisation".

The real task of the advocate of European unity and world peace is not one of prophecy, nor even of system-building, but of conciliation. France, in 1850, teemed with the cosmopolitan spirit; and Hugo was one of many who built up neat systems on paper. But France did not produce a man who could really serve the cause. Such a man would have had to rise above nationalistic feeling himself, then convince his neighbors to do so, and finally convince all the nations involved to follow his example. The real task was that which Woodrow Wilson faced in 1918, when he sought to bring the European nations into the League. Actually, Victor Hugo left the problem as he found it. He may have been regarded in France as a great advocate of European unity; but one cannot judge him in this matter by the testimony of compatriots. The real test of his cosmopolitanism must be made abroad.

Curiously enough, Hugo was and is still regarded in England as a most nationalistic and even chauvinistic writer, "French of the French."<sup>6</sup> *Le Rhin*, in which Hugo sketched one of the first forms of his plan for European unity, was attacked in England as a nationalistic document. Translated into English almost immediately upon publication (1842), the work received severe criticism from the *Athenaeum*, *Quarterly Review*, *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Spectator*.<sup>7</sup> The gist of Hugo's argument was: "The very stones on the left bank of the Rhine are crying out for French dominion; give us the left bank, and some day we shall abolish all frontiers". This may have seemed magnanimous to its author; to the *Athenaeum* it indicated merely that "Victor Hugo is national to the tips of his fingers —

<sup>6</sup> The author of this article has devoted several years of research to the subject of Victor Hugo's prestige in England.

<sup>7</sup> See *Athenaeum*, 1842, # 745, pp. 123-4; *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 71, pp. 315-31; *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 27, pp. 584-97; *Spectator*, Vol. 16, p. 499.

the pronoun 'Moi' personified".<sup>8</sup> It is hardly surprising that the idea raised a veritable storm of protest in Germany. One might attempt to reply that Hugo was being criticized by strong nationalists abroad, but, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that such criticism is exactly what the advocate of cosmopolitanism must contend with; if he does not conciliate or overcome it, he is wasting his time.

Certain other works by Hugo provoked considerable anger in England for this same reason. The famous account of Waterloo in *Les Misérables* aroused some satirical and bitter comment (more bitterness than was justified, I think). Perhaps the most irritating of all was the eulogy of Paris in Hugo's introduction to the *Paris Guide*. The English showed some reluctance to accept Hugo's idea that London, Berlin, Vienna, etc., were only provincial suburbs of Paris, the Center of Light, where all the intelligence and wisdom of the universe was concentrated.

But the elements which destroyed Hugo's argument for European unity were implicit in the published sketches of his plans. We need not investigate foreign criticism to learn that Hugo's nationalism contradicted his cosmopolitanism, for we may find the contradiction in the very passages which Prof. Schinz has cited and interpreted. The poet's first vision of a united Europe came to him in 1837, on the occasion of the marriage of Ferdinand d'Orléans and Hélène de Mecklembourg-Schwerin. Describing this in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* a few years ago, Prof. Schinz pointed out that Hugo "entrevoit dans une alliance entre la France et l'Allemagne la possibilité de réaliser des États-Unis de l'Europe — bien entendu sous la direction de la France".<sup>9</sup> And again, in his account of Hugo's later plan for European reorganization, developed in the *Événement* in 1851, Prof. Schinz was careful to add, in a footnote, "Dans cette réforme, le rôle capital est donné à la France. Son droit est historique . . ."<sup>10</sup> Is this cosmopolitanism? Does it require any real triumph over nationalism, for a Frenchman to project a "united" Europe under French direction?

Another question which the attentive reader must ask himself is this: how did Hugo propose to bring about this golden millenium of European "unity" and "universal peace"? And here again, if we pursue his argument, we shall find that it ends in a contradiction. For in his speech on *la Révision de la Constitution*, delivered before the Assembly on July 17, 1851, Hugo made it plain that the project could be carried out only by foreign invasion. In glowing terms, he described the future "États-Unis

<sup>8</sup> *Athenaeum*, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup> *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, January, 1932; article: "L'Unité dans la carrière politique de Victor Hugo".

<sup>10</sup> *French Review*, November, 1933; article: "Victor Hugo, le grand poète humanitaire".



d'Europe", of which, he told the Assembly, "le peuple français a taillé dans un granit indestructible . . . la première assise". But it soon became apparent to his audience that the other countries of Europe were not giving their entire cooperation, for Hugo found "la potence, c'est-à-dire l'Autriche, debout sur la Hongrie, sur la Lombardie, sur Milan, sur Venise; la Sicile livrée aux fusillades; . . . la Turquie laissée sans appui contre le Czar". The orator then blamed his countrymen for not intervening, and protested that, with full knowledge of this shameful condition, "la France baisse la tête; Napoleon tressaille de honte dans sa tombe". He contrasted "le vieux soldat, . . . ce Napoleon qui, parmi tant de combats prodigieux, est allé . . . provoquer la vieille barbarie moscovite à ce grand duel de 1812" with the men of 1851, "qui se couchent à plat ventre avec terreur et se collent l'oreille contre terre pour écouter s'ils n'entendent pas enfin venir le canon russe!"<sup>11</sup> And at the same time, Hugo was also inciting readers of his *Événement* to foreign invasion, formulating what M. de Lacretelle describes as

"un belliqueux système de politique extérieure ou le futur maître de la France promenait ses armées à travers l'Europe, sous prétexte d'écraser la Russie et l'Autriche, d'appliquer le principe des nationalités et de détruire les frontières, sans reculer devant une guerre longue et terrible . . ."<sup>12</sup> Is this "la paix universelle"? On the contrary, it is only that chimera, that horrible delusion, the "war to end war". There is evidence, moreover, that Hugo clung to this belief even after the Franco-Prussian war, for in 1871 he told his defeated countrymen,

"Oh! une heure sonnera, — nous la sentons venir, . . . on verra la France se redresser; . . . ressaisir la Lorraine, ressaisir l'Alsace, . . . toute la rive gauche du Rhin . . . Et on entendra la France crier: C'est mon tour! Allemagne, me voilà! Suis-je ton ennemie? Non, je suis ta soeur. Je t'ai tout repris, et je te rends tout, à une condition: c'est que nous ne ferons plus qu'un seul peuple . . . Ma vengeance, c'est la fraternité!"<sup>13</sup>

We have seen that all Hugo's plans for European "unity" had this common element: that France was to be the supreme and directing Power, while all his promises of "universal peace" presupposed war and conquest. These contradictions are by no means fortuitous; they followed inevitably from the poet's idolatry of France and his idea of progress. But for the thoughtful student, they quite ruin the effect of his argument.

\* \* \*

The political career of Victor Hugo has been a subject of controversy ever since 1830, and it would be impossible within the limits of this article

<sup>11</sup> Victor Hugo, *Actes et Paroles*, ed. Hetzel-Quantin, Paris, Vol. 1, p. 426 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Pierre de Lacretelle, *Vie Politique de Victor Hugo*, Paris, 1928, p. 163.

<sup>13</sup> Victor Hugo, *Actes et Paroles*, Vol. 3, pp. 102-103.

even to summarize the evidence for and against Hugo as *homme politique*. So much effort has been expended in searching out the truth about Hugo's political activities, that we cannot help expressing amazement at the ease with which Prof. Schinz has overcome the difficulties. Out of the mass of evidence proving Hugo's Republicanism, Bonapartism, Socialism and Royalism, Prof. Schinz has taken only enough material to draw for us the plain portrait of a consistent Bonapartist; and furthermore, he has challenged all and sundry to prove that Hugo swayed with the crowd or followed the political majority. No careful reader will need to be warned against the dangers of over-simplification: consequently we may pass by the portrait of Hugo, the consistent Bonapartist. The challenge, likewise, might lead us into a profitless discussion; for even though Hugo were proved independent, we should have to remind ourselves that independence is not, after all, a cardinal political virtue. Nevertheless, Prof. Schinz's challenge must not go unanswered.

The instances of Hugo's independence which Prof. Schinz has brought forward include his *Discours de réception à l'Académie française*, his speeches in support of the Orléans regime in 1848, and his speeches before the Bordeaux assembly in 1870 and 1871. Some of these speeches may be said to show independence, at least in the sense that they voiced minority opinions, but it is also important to notice that they were politically ineffective and that they reflected little credit upon the orator.

The *Discours de réception à l'Académie française* in 1841 is presented by Prof. Schinz as a daring speech, in which Hugo praised Napoleon before an assembly of Napoleon's "rivals", the *Orléanistes*, which included even members of the royal family. Inasmuch as Hugo had been trying since 1837 to instill Napoleonic ideals into the mind of Ferdinand d'Orléans (as Prof. Schinz explained in his article, "l'Unité dans la carrière politique de Victor Hugo"), it is clear that he intended, not to show hostility toward the royal family, with which he was on excellent terms, but to unite the *Bonapartistes* and the *Orléanistes*. At any rate, the speech contained very pleasant words for everybody involved. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the *Discours* must admit, what M. Biré said of it, that

"Victor Hugo y caressait tour à tour toutes les opinions. Éloge de Napoléon pour les bonapartistes, éloge de la Convention pour les républicains, éloge de Malesherbes pour les royalistes, il y'en avait pour tous les goûts. Au demeurant, . . . le discours affirmait surtout les sentiments monarchiques de l'orateur. Il y célébrait . . . après Dieu, la royauté, la beauté et le génie".<sup>14</sup>

It is true that in the Revolution of 1848 Hugo found himself on the losing side, and that his speeches in favor of the regency of Hélène d'Or-

<sup>14</sup> Edmond Biré, *Victor Hugo après 1830*, Paris, 1899, Vol. I, p. 286.

léans betrayed no subservience to the majority opinion. But it is difficult to congratulate Hugo upon his failures; and in this case it seems particularly inept to congratulate him upon his independence, because the speeches were made before any majority opinion had been reached. If Hugo failed to move the people, while Lamartine's eloquence succeeded in doing so, it was not because Hugo's party lacked numerical strength. On the contrary, the *Orléanistes* were so strong that they were able to largely determine the policy of the new Assembly.<sup>15</sup>

The evidence of Hugo's behavior at the Assembly of Bordeaux in 1870 very plainly supports Prof. Schinz's thesis: here we must concede that he did not follow the crowd. But even when we have acknowledged Hugo's independence at Bordeaux, it is difficult to find in it anything worthy of emulation or praise. His "défense" of Garibaldi, which Prof. Schinz describes as a noble and independent action, was in reality only a petulant gesture, a pretext for breaking with an Assembly which had thwarted him at every point. The poet himself describes the incident in *Actes et Paroles* all too briefly:

"Le 8 mars (1871) . . . survint un incident inattendu. Un rapport fut fait à l'Assemblée sur l'élection d'Alger. Le général Garibaldi avait été nommé représentant d'Alger par 10,606 voix. Le candidat qui avait après lui le plus de voix n'avait eu que 4,973 suffrages. On proposa l'annulation de l'élection de Garibaldi. Victor Hugo intervint."<sup>16</sup>

Prof. Schinz likewise spares us the encumbrance of too much detail in describing this incident: his account leaves the reader with the simple notion that the Assembly did not want Garibaldi, and that Hugo was alone in defending him. Neither has seen fit to mention the fact that Garibaldi had been elected in February, 1871, by three departments at once, *but had given his demission* on February 13th at Bordeaux. The occasion of Hugo's demission came almost a month later, when it was learned that Garibaldi had been elected by a fourth department, Alger. The Assembly naturally agreed with M. Vente, who reported the election, that Garibaldi's letter of demission applied to the Alger election as well as to the other three. There was no question, therefore, of any but a technical annulment, in which Garibaldi himself would have gladly concurred, but Hugo made it the occasion for a vigorous protest, which some of the Members considered insulting to the French army. Hugo, unable to make himself heard in the uproar which his speech had caused, gave his demission and left the Assembly.

"Ce nouvel incident Garibaldi", said M. de Lacretelle in recording this episode, "représente le type des manifestations idéales qui exercent sur lui une séduction si puissante, car il ne comporte, dans sa pensée, aucune possi-

<sup>15</sup> Pierre de Lacretelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-61.

<sup>16</sup> Victor Hugo, *Actes et Paroles*, Vol. 3, p. 123.

bilité de conséquences. Les esprits sont apaisés, le général est loin, sa démission acquise; ainsi, aucun événement n'est à redouter. Hugo pourra donc parler au nom d'une idée pure, sans aucun contact avec les faits."<sup>17</sup>

Prof. Schinz also considered Hugo's refusal to "sanction the mutilation of French territory" by Germany worthy of his praise, and by describing this protest in glowing terms, he has made seem meritorious what in reality was an ill-considered and impertinent speech. Hugo, pleading at Bordeaux "pour le guerre dans le présent et pour la paix dans l'avenir", advised the Assembly to prolong the war, and predicted, as we have seen, that France would win back Alsace, Lorraine and the whole left bank of the Rhine.<sup>18</sup> France's submission to Germany, however, was not merely inevitable, — it was already an accomplished fact. Bazaine's army at Metz, the last remnant of the Imperial forces, had capitulated in October, 1870; Paris had surrendered shortly afterward, and the Assembly which Hugo was addressing had been formed chiefly for the purpose of concluding terms of peace with Germany.<sup>19</sup> M. de Lacretelle suspects that Hugo advised his countrymen not to accede to Germany's demands because he realized that no Frenchman liked the terms of peace, and that he could gain reputation as a patriot, at no expense, by protesting against them. Whether this is true or not, we must undoubtedly agree that the speech was only another wordy gesture, which obstructed more than it aided the real work of the Assembly.

\* \* \*

Before we join in the "definitive consecration" of Victor Hugo, we should take the trouble to find out what is known of the man, and what philosophical values his works actually contain. To any student who has surveyed the whole story of Hugo's career, it must seem idle to piece together incidents and details of it into the portrait of a martyred and maligned hero, as Prof. Schinz has done. And likewise, for those students to whom Hugo's philosophy seemed *toute creuse*, Prof. Schinz's article will not give it substance. In the long run, we shall do the poet far greater service if we only accept his more tangible gifts — if we learn to appreciate his uncanny skill in imagery, his marvellous personifications, his absolute mastery of words and sounds. And in any case, if Hugo is worth reading, he may well do without sainthood.

K. W. HOOKER

NEW YORK

<sup>17</sup> Pierre de Lacretelle, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>18</sup> Victor Hugo, *Actes et Paroles*, Vol. 3, p. 95 (March 1, 1871).

<sup>19</sup> M. J. C. Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, trans. S. M. MacVane. N. Y., 1899, p. 189 ff.

## MISCELLANEOUS

### AMERICAN STUDIES ON THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

A FEW years ago a distinguished French scholar remarked to one of the authors of this paper that American students of the French Renaissance, although well equipped for research, had published but little in this field. This remark would certainly have been true half a century ago, and as late as 1907, when the *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes* asked W. A. R. Kerr to prepare a bibliography of Rabelais studies in America, he was able to list only 12 items. Our studies, moreover, have appeared in such a large number of periodicals, many of them not readily accessible to the student of literature, that few Americans even have been able to obtain an idea of the nature or extent of this contribution.

Since February, 1934, when the Federal government began its program of student-relief, we have been working on a bibliography of American studies on the French Renaissance. When completed, this bibliography will list between 1,500 and 2,000 titles of books, articles, and reviews, dealing wholly or in part with the French Renaissance. It will include some 100 French authors of that period and about an equal number who influenced them or were influenced by them. It will contain nearly 100 items dealing with Rabelais, in comparison with the 12 which Mr. Kerr listed in 1907. It will give a conspicuous place to the comparative-literature element, both from the point of view of the sources of French authors of the Renaissance and from that of their influence upon English literature. It has been conceived along broad lines and will not confine itself to purely literary matters. An important section of the bibliography must necessarily deal with John Calvin and the history of Calvinism. Another section will list works on the voyages and explorations of Jacques Cartier and other 16th-century navigators. Our political scientists have had occasion to deal with such authors as Jean Bodin and François Hotman. These, and many other subjects, have interested American scholars; and our bibliography attempts to organize this material, both for the convenience of the research-worker and in order to show that we have not been so unproductive as some would believe.

The limitations of space make it impossible to analyze or even point out any considerable number of these contributions. As typical examples, therefore, let us glance at some of the items listed under the names of Rabelais and Montaigne.

It is interesting to note that during the past decade there has been a pronounced increase in American interest in Rabelais, as evidenced by the number and importance of the studies which have been devoted to him. The magnificently printed and edited translation of all his extant works by Samuel Putnam, the first American translation, appeared in 1929; and Mr. Putnam is also the

author of *Rabelais: Man of the Renaissance*. Albert Jay Nock and Miss Catherine R. Wilson have reëdited the Urquhart and Le Motteux translation and have published *Rabelais: The Man and His Work*, while Mr. Nock alone published recently *A Journey into Rabelais' France*. In more academic circles also several books of high merit have been devoted to Rabelais. Huntington Brown's *Rabelais in English Literature* treats the English influence through Laurence Sterne. N. H. Clement has studied *The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais*. Miss Marion F. Chevalier has published a critical edition and study of *Les Aventures et le Mariage de Panurge*, by Pousset de Montauban, which directly concerns Rabelais. All of these books have been published since 1926.

American articles on Rabelais cover a wide variety of subjects, such as: "Rabelais: an Appreciation"; "The Eclecticism of Rabelais"; "The Religion of Rabelais"; "Rabelais and His Times"; "Rabelais at Home"; "Rabelais and the Earlier Renaissance"; "Rabelais and the War of 1914"; "English and American Appreciation of Rabelais"; "Luis Vives and Rabelais' Pedagogy"; "Die Beziehung der Satire Rabelais' zu Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae* und *Colloquia*"; "Doublets in the Language of Rabelais"; "Rabelais and the Bridge of Mantrible"; and "The Pilgrims in Gargantua's Salad." On the side of comparative literature, we find articles discussing his influence on Thomas Hall, Ben Jonson, Swift, Carlyle, Sterne, and Melville. These articles have appeared in such periodicals as P. M. L. A., *Modern Language Notes*, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, *Modern Philology*, *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, *Philological Quarterly*, *Language*, *University of California Publications*, *University of Cincinnati Bulletin*, *National Quarterly*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Spectator*, and *Open Court*.

Some of the articles on Rabelais are found in out-of-the-way places. The *American Law Review* of 1924 contains an account of "The Trial of Judge Bridlegoose, as Reported by François Rabelais in *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*." In the *Medical Record*, from 1916 to 1920, we were delighted to find a series of 13 articles by D. W. Montgomery dealing with such subjects as "Rabelais' Remarks on the Throat", "The References to Anatomy in Rabelais' Work", "The Teeth According to Rabelais." These studies furnish an admirable illustration of the universality of Rabelais' appeal.

Nor has less attention been paid to Montaigne. Within recent years American interest in the "Father of the Essay" has led to the publication of many excellent books and articles. Among students of Montaigne in this country, the name of Miss Grace Norton must occupy a prominent position. Her works include *The Early Writings of Montaigne and Other Papers* (1904); *Studies in Montaigne* (1904); *Le Plutarque de Montaigne* (1906); *The Spirit of Montaigne* (1908); and she also collaborated with Pierre Villey in the preparation of the *Lexique de la Langue des Essais*, which appeared as the 5th volume of the so-called "municipal" edition. J. S. Taylor has published a volume on *Montaigne and Medicine*. G. C. Taylor has studied *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*. J. F. Mauzey has contributed a study of *Montaigne's Philosophy of Human Nature*. Marvin Lowenthal recently published *The Autobiography of Michel de Montaigne, A Selection and Arrangement From the Essays*. Two American translations have appeared within the last decade; that of G. B. Ives, with intro-



ductions by Miss Norton, and that of Jacob Zeitlin, which is intended both for the scholar and for the lay reader of the *Essays*.

The articles on Montaigne are no less varied and interesting than those on Rabelais. They include "Sir William Cornwallis's Use of Montaigne"; "Montaigne et l'Idée de Justice"; "Montaigne and the *Nicomachean Ethics*"; "Montaigne Differentia"; "Montaigne: The Average Man"; "Montaigne the Friend"; and "The Philosophy of Montaigne's Skepticism." His influence on other authors has also received considerable attention. B. M. Woodbridge and H. A. Grubbs have discussed his influence on Descartes and La Rochefoucauld, respectively. Miss Elizabeth R. Hooker and J. D. Perott have studied Shakespeare's debt to the *Essays*. A. M. Turner has contributed a study on "Charles Reade and Montaigne." Montaigne's influence on the development of the English essay has been studied in considerable detail by Jacob Zeitlin, W. L. MacDonald, W. L. Ustick, and Robert Withington.

Although it is not possible within the brief limits of this paper to call attention to more than a few of our contributors and contributions, there are some which require a passing mention. The following list, which is far from complete, will give some idea of the range and importance of American studies on the French Renaissance: N. S. Bement, *French Modal Syntax in the Sixteenth Century*; E. E. Brandon, *Robert Estienne et le Dictionnaire français au XVIe Siècle*; Huntington Brown, *The Tale of Gargantua and King Arthur*, by François Girault; Alice Cameron, *The Influence of Ariosto's Epic and Lyric Poetry on Ronsard and His Group and The Influence of Ariosto's Epic and Lyric Poetry on Amadis Jamyn*; W. B. Cornelia, *The Classical Sources of the Nature References in Ronsard's Poetry*; J. C. Dawson, *Toulouse in the Renaissance; The Floral Games, University and Student Life, Etienne Dolet (1532-1534)*; Helen M. Evers, *Critical Edition of the Discours de la Vie de Pierre de Ronsard par Claude Binet*; Marcel Françon, *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche*; J. L. Gerig, *Antoine Arlier and the Renaissance at Nîmes and Barthélemy Aneau, a Study in Humanism*; Hélène J. Harvitt, *Eustorg de Beaulieu, a Disciple of Marot*; R. L. Hawkins, *Maître Charles Fontaine, Parisien*; U. T. Holmes, J. C. Lyons and R. W. Linker, *The Life and Works of Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas*; W. A. R. Kerr, *Platonic Love Theories in the Renaissance, With Special Regard to France*; L. P. Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature*; H. C. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy, Its Origin and Development from 1552-1628*; S. L. Levengood, *The Use of Color in the Verse of the Pléiade*; R. V. Merrill, *The Platonism of Joachim Du Bellay*; Kathleen M. Munn, *A Contribution to the Study of Jean Lemaire de Belges*; W. F. Patterson, *Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory, 1328-1630*; Lula M. Richardson, *The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance From Christine de Pisan to Marie de Gournay*; Caroline Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte-Marthe*; W. H. Storer, *Virgil and Ronsard*; G. C. Taylor, *Milton's Use of Du Bartas*; R. E. Turner, *The Sixteenth Century in Victor Hugo's Lyrical Inspiration*; J. S. Will, *Protestantism in France*; and A. M. Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama*.

In the course of this work it has been possible to arrive at certain observations of a general nature which are not lacking in significance. During the last 20 years American interest in the French Renaissance has increased amazingly,

and, in spite of obvious handicaps, we may well take pride in the volume and quality of this contribution to Renaissance scholarship. It is also interesting to note that women have done their full share in this research. Then too, we have had occasion to observe that the most prolific centers of activity in Renaissance scholarship in the past have been Columbia, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins, although there are already indications that within the next decade a group of younger scholars at other institutions may even surpass their accomplishments.

SAMUEL F. WILL AND  
VIRGIL L. SIKES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

PROVERBIAL MATERIAL IN THE POEMS OF BAUDOUIN  
AND JEAN DE CONDÉ<sup>1</sup>

THE writings of Baudouin de Condé and his son Jean<sup>2</sup> are not, by and large, of a nature calculated to arouse the interest of modern readers, even among those who devote themselves to medieval literature. Some of their poems, none the less, are not without intrinsic merit. Baudouin's "Li Contes des Hiraus" (I, 153 ff.) is lively enough, vivid in portraiture, and shows that the poet had a sense of humor, which, unfortunately, he ordinarily repressed. Jean is often called the last of the true French practitioners in the art of the *fabliau*; and several of his poems evince real talent for that *grivois genre*, while "La Messe des Oisiaus et li Plais des Chanoinesses et des Grises Nonains" (III, 1 ff.) combines two pretty incidents, albeit that the second is neither seemly nor reverent. There is much to be said, too, for such chivalric pieces as "Li Lays dou Blanc Chevalier" (II, 1 ff.) and "Li Dis dou Levrier" (II, 303 ff.). Too many poems, however, contain nothing but trite moralizing and uninspired, often grotesque, allegory, made almost unreadable by a vicious use of truly monstrous equivocal rimes. In all these matters Baudouin is the worse offender, for while Jean was a good son<sup>3</sup> and modelled his work closely on his father's, he avoided, perhaps instinctively, the older poet's greatest blemishes, especially in the

<sup>1</sup> For other proverbs taken from Old French literature see my "Proverbs in the Writings of Jean Froissart", *Speculum* (X, 1935, 291 ff.), and especially the note 3, pp. 292 f., and "Proverbs in the Old French Poems" on Reynard the Fox, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (XVIII, 1935, 235 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son Fils Jean de Condé*, ed. A. Scheler (3 vols., Brussels, 1866-67). The first volume contains the poems of Baudouin. On Baudouin see *Histoire littéraire de la France* (XXIII, 1856, 267-282), and on Jean (with incidental references to his father) the same (XXXV, 1921, 421-454) and Joseph Wiegand, *Jean de Condé, Literarhistorische Studie* (Borna-Leipzig, 1914).

<sup>3</sup> The lines about his father at the beginning of "Li Dis dou Levrier" are warm with filial piety and love:

"Nature en a mon cuer fondé,  
Fius fui Bauduin de Condé,

matter of equivocal riming. Both were court poets, and their works doubtless represent what appealed to cultivated taste, at least in Flanders and Hainaut, during the last of the 13th and first of the 14th centuries. Baudouin's most prominent patroness was *la grande dame*, Black Margaret, Countess of Flanders and Hainaut from 1244 to 1280; and Jean enjoyed the favors of Count William of Hainaut (†1337), whose daughter Philippa, wife of Edward III, smiled upon young Jean Froissart; and Philippa's son, John of Gaunt, in his turn, aided Geoffrey Chaucer.

As the following collection<sup>4</sup> will indicate, the writings of the Condés are fairly rich in proverbial material.<sup>5</sup> The didactic and moral tone of so many of their poems accounts for the large number of sententious remarks. The individual proverbs demand little comment, but we may note what may well be one of the earliest "Scots" jokes (no. 33), and an interesting Welserism (no. 35). That no. 26 is spoken by Venus in open court is a sufficient comment on 14th century notions of propriety.

#### A. PROVERBS

- 1 Dex! qui bien aime, asés a guerre (I, 370, l. 2911)
- 2 Ne ele n'est onques seüre,  
S'est folz qui trop s'i asseüre (III, 56, ll. 233 f.)
- 3 Mais on ne set quel les gens sont  
Ne quels cœurs en lor ventres ont  
Devant c'au besoing sont venu (II, 192, ll. 775 ff.)
- 4 Mains biaux parlers mainte en afolle,  
Qui croient ce que on lor dist,  
Quant on les losenge et blandist (II, 316, ll. 408 ff.)
- 5 On dist, qui boise ne repose (II, 246, l. 86)
- 6 Car on dist, et c'est chose vraie,  
Que bone atent qui bone paie (III, 299, ll. 7 f.)

S'est bien raisons k'en moi apere  
Aucunne teche de mon père,  
Et .i. petitet de son sens,  
Et à ce est bien mes asens  
K'en ce chemin le vœl poursivre,  
Et non mie pour lui consivre —  
Car je me peneroie en vain,  
K'en moi n'a pas tant de levain  
Qui mon cuer faice si lever  
K'à tel sens le puisse eslever; —  
Mais s'il plaist Dieu le roi manant  
Que je truisse aucun remanant  
Après lui, mout oians en iere  
Et en ferai joie plenièr" (II, 304 f., ll. 11.59 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Taken from nearly 10,000 lines of Baudouin and nearly 19,300 of Jean.

<sup>5</sup> Jean's use of proverbs is noted by Wiegand (pp. 87-89), who gives a selected list to which I am indebted for three items that I had overlooked. I am unable to recognize several of his quotations as proverbial.

- 7 Ki de boins est, si mete entente  
A boins estre, car de bone ente  
Vient bons fruis, u nature ment;  
Tout ensi sachiés purement  
Que boins fruis de bone ente vient (I, 79, ll. 1 ff.)  
Qui a en son jardin planté  
Boen arbre, bon fruit en atent (III, 174, ll. 102 f.)  
Dire as oï, s'il t'en souvient,  
Que de pute racine vient  
Pute ente, c'est selonc nature (III, 72, ll. 759 ff.)
- 8 Bon li seignour, bon li serjant (III, 290, l. 28)
- 9 Qui estrangne boyel aloie  
Au sien, je vous di qu'il foloie (II, 11, ll. 355 f.)
- 10 Car on dist, qui d'autrui mesfait  
Se puet castyer, il est saiges (II, 94, ll. 88 f.)  
Raisons nous enseigne et aprent  
Que folie celui sousprent  
Qui par autrui ne se chastie (III, 211, ll. 1 ff.)
- 11 Mais moult plus li est près  
Sa chemise ne soit sa cote (II, 118, ll. 28 f.)
- 12 Mais aussi grant journée paie  
Chevaus tondus, c'est chose vraie,  
Souvent que chieus à lons cheviaus (III, 34, ll. 1101 ff.; cf. note, p. 340)
- 13 Bien savez, li cox chaponez  
Est as gelines mal venus (III, 302, ll. 104 f.)
- 14 Et on dist que li cuers fet l'œvre;  
Quele que soit, ou male ou bonne,  
Du cuer vient et li cuers le donne (III, 264, ll. 112 ff.)
- 15 Chascune denrée est vendue  
Au marchié, quant on l'i aporte (III, 35, ll. 1146 f.)
- 16 Car dons fait tous maus pardonner (I, 96, l. 24)
- 17 Preudons doit bien savoir eslire  
De .ij. consaus liquels est pire,  
Ains qu'il viegne au fait coumencier (I, 250, ll. 142 ff.)  
Puis c'uns hons bien et mal cognoist,  
Aucun des .ij. faire li loist,  
Fols est s'il allainne au pieur  
Quant il cognoist bien le milleur (II, 49, ll. 9 ff.)
- 18 Por ce dist l'en, je ne dout mie,  
Que cent mars vaut d'eür demie (III, 52, ll. 111 f.)
- 19 Mais on dist "de bien fet cou frait" (III, 237, l. 64; cf. note, p. 386)
- 20 Car assez est plus perillous  
Haus estages que bas ne soit (III, 154, ll. 80 f.)  
La provance as aperchelle,  
Comment vie en poi d'eüre faut,  
Et de tant c'om plus monte en haut,  
Tant est li descendres plus griés (III, 54, ll. 174 ff.)

- 21 Jone dame qui n'aime, Dex l'a bien oubliée (I, 278, l. 290)
- 22 Uns proverbes que on recorde  
A ceste mauvaistié s'acorde:  
Cil qui rachate de la hart  
.I. larron, de lui bien se gart,  
Jà mès veoir ne le vorra  
Et envis parler en orra (III, 236, ll. 31 ff.)
- 23 Fols est quant tant i va luitant,  
Car il ne fait pas boin luitier  
A coze qui ne puet fruitier (I, 345, ll. 2235 ff.)
- 24 Car nous trouvons en un proverbe,  
C'ainc Dieus ne fist mire ne herbe,  
Qui dou mal cop seüst garir,  
Que male langue set ferir (I, 75, ll. 339 ff.; cf. note, p. 414)
- 25 Dont .i. proverbes nous reprent  
Que li merchiers s'en vait le pas  
Tout belement, qu'il ne set pas  
S'eürs est devant ou deriere (III, 52, ll. 98 ff.)
- 26 Car "tant con plus muet on la merde,  
Plus put," souvent dire l'oëis (III, 13, ll. 414 f.)
- 27 Se cils ne ment qui fist che dit,  
On se doit moult bien aviser,  
S'il a sour lui que deviser,  
Ains que sour autrui on mesdie (II, 279, ll. 246 ff.)  
Ki pourcace à autrui grevance,  
Il s'empire et se desavanche,  
Et souvent voit on avenir  
C'on voit sour son col revenir  
Tout le mal qui de son cuer muet,  
De coi autrui encouper vœt (II, 243, ll. 1 ff.)  
Car sachiez bien que on s'empire  
En autrui blasmer et despire (III, 27, ll. 869 f.)  
Et tés d'autrui moquier s'atourne,  
Que sus lui meïsme retourne (III, 299, ll. 11 f.)
- 28 Car pau n'est nuls qui ne mesfaice (II, 184, l. 26)
- 29 Ke ki plus y met, plus y pert (III, 24, l. 762)
- 30 Et uns proverbes nous reprent  
Que "ce que li noviaus ciés prent,  
Quant il est vius, il le saveure" (II, 253, ll. 71 ff.)
- 31 Et on dist "folz est ki s'oblie" (II, 117, l. 14)
- 32 Et on connoist l'ouvrier à l'uevre (III, 62, l. 428)
- 33 Voirs est, par saint Andriu l'Escot,  
Li plus fols paiera l'escot (I, 167, ll. 429 f.; cf. note, p. 457)
- 34 Si aveis oï dire souvent  
Que nus pains ne puet remanoir:  
L'uns vuet du blanc, l'autre dou noir (III, 35, ll. 1150 ff.)
- 35 Ensi dist du preudomme lait,  
Car ne set pas qu'il a ou plait,

- Ensi, con renars dist au leu,  
Ne parfera mie son jeu (II, 40, ll. 1315 ff.)
- 36 Pieça c'oï dire l'avés,  
Et d'autre part très bien savés  
Que on dist c'à la court de roi  
Est cascuns ausi com pour soi (I, 274, ll. 179 ff.)
- 37 Bien vous en croi, gaur à sentier  
Qui est batus, ne croist point d'erbe." —  
Cil qui oïrent cest proverbe  
Commencièrent si grant risée  
Pour la demande desguisée (III, 301 f.; ll. 78 ff.)
- 38 Nonporquant on dist que ki siert,  
S'il ne parsiert, son louier pert (I, 340, ll. 2099 f.)
- 39 Piecha c'on dist "qui siet, il seche" (I, 17, l. 7)
- 40 Li hom qui souffle contre vent,  
A ensient sa paine pert (III, 134, ll. 22 f.)
- 41 J'ai maintes fois oï retraire  
C'ausi bien se puet on trop taire  
Que trop parler, ch'avient souvent (I, 45, ll. 1 ff.)  
Car mal puet au siecle plaisir  
Qui plus veut parler que taisir (I, 65, ll. 61 f.)  
On dist k'en taisir mout a sens (I, 95, l. 1)
- 42 Si com on leur voit coumencier,  
A tart venront au repentir (I, 249, ll. 119 f.)
- 43 Et l'en dist, qui d'un est veüs,  
De .c. est après mescreüs (III, 272, ll. 167 f.)
- 44 Car souvent meschiet en une heure,  
Tant qu'il couvient plus avaler  
C'om ne puist en haut siege aler  
En .c. ans, s'unz hom tant vivoit;  
Qui garde y prent, souvent le voit (III, 87, ll. 1246 ff.)  
A un seul jour plus mettre y puet  
Qu'il n'i puist conquerre en .c. ans (III, 168, ll. 42 f.)
- 45 Car uns provierbes nous raconte  
Que tels cuide vengier son honte  
Qui l'acroist, et ensi avint (II, 181, ll. 431 ff.)
- 46 Je ai bien la vierge cueillie  
Dont jou meïsmes sui batue (II, 223, ll. 1748 f.)

## B. PROVERBIAL PHRASES

## 1) COMPARISONS

- 47 Et deboinnaires comme aigniaus (II, 292, l. 58)
- 48 Si estoit plus lais qu'airemens (III, 68, l. 624)
- 49 Onques Alixandres d'Alïer  
Ne se maintient mieus en bataille (II, 26, ll. 842 f.)
- 50 Mantiaus de fleurs plus blans qu'armine (I, 206, l. 38)
- 51 Plus sont dur que ne soit asnesse  
C'on point avant de l'aguillon (III, 215, ll. 148 f.)



- 52 Froissa comme une seke astielle (II, 181, l. 448)
- 53 Car il semoit l'or et l'argent  
Ensi c'on seme blés as cans (II, 292, ll. 74 f.)
- 54 C'on les puet comparer as biestes (II, 380, l. 274)  
Crie haut con sauvaige bieste (II, 359, l. 121)  
Rude et mal entendant com bieste (III, 172, l. 34)  
Si est li siecles devenus  
Aussi sauvages et rubestes  
Qu'il ne fust pueplés que de bestes (III, 281, ll. 140 ff.)
- 55 Car aussi tost comme est estainte  
La chandoile du vent atainte,  
Est vie d'omme tost alée (III, 54, ll. 169 ff.)
- 56 Tout aussi envis con froumage  
Chas mangeroit,  
Uns d'eulz à elles mefferoit (III, 186, ll. 174 f.)
- 57 Car par la langue, c'est la somme,  
Tient on fermement la pseudome,  
Si con cheval par la frenure (I, 68, ll. 139 ff.)
- 58 Ensi me tient con chien en laisse (I, 137, l. 112)  
S'abaient à faus et glatissent  
D'armes, si con fait ciens de proie (I, 157, ll. 134 ff.)
- 59 Ne point ne font  
Ce qu'il dient; lor fais confont  
Lor parole, ensement con font  
Au feu la chire (III, 185, ll. 121 ff.)
- 60 Une damoiselle moult cointe  
Qui plus iert qu'esmerillons jointe (II, 185, ll. 547 f.)
- 61 Où deseur lui maillent et fierent,  
Aussi com fevres de martiel (II, 74, ll. 96 f.)  
Ensi con fevres sur englume  
Fiert de son martel par coustume  
Chevaliers (II, 75, ll. 137 ff.)
- 62 Grans fu cis hons, s'ot barbe blanche,  
Com fleur menu recercelée (I, 210, ll. 166 f.)  
Et une damoiselle gente,  
Qui plus blanche iert con flours sour ente (II, 208, ll. 1287 f.)  
Qu'elle ot le car blanche con flour (II, 310, l. 213)  
A sa fille, qui mout fu gente  
Et plus blanche que flour sour ente (II, 347, ll. 1433 f.)
- 63 Car eürs del monde et richesce  
Ressamble la flour qui tost sesce  
Et poi en sa biauté demeure,  
Qu'ele chiet et faut en une heure (III, 92, ll. 1417 ff.)
- 64 Et monteplioie sa richesce,  
Si com fontaine qui ne sece  
N'estaint onc pour yaue c'on preigne (III, 310, ll. 167 ff.)
- 65 Criant et bruiant comme foudre (III, 51, l. 57)
- 66 Car ensi con uns gons au prosne,

- Hauce et me giete une ramprosne (I, 161, ll. 269 f.)
- 67 Qui fu pure et fine con gemme (II, 7, l. 193)  
Engendra .i. fil de sa femme,  
Qui estoit finne comme gemme (II, 305, ll. 69 f.)
- 68 Car tu ne dois pas resambler  
Le leu, qui adies vit de proie (II, 374, ll. 106 f.)
- 69 Si come lions . . .  
A lui deffendre s'abandone (I, 57, ll. 316 f.)  
Aussi com lyons familleus  
Fiert asprement entre les biestes (II, 75, ll. 126 f.)  
Et fiers com lions (II, 102, l. 169)  
Et fier con . . . lyon (II, 375, l. 139)
- 70 Il enlumine le repaire,  
Si com . . . la lune  
Et i porte joie commune (III, 231, ll. 60 ff.)  
Ensement con la lune raie  
Et resclarchist le nuit obscure (II, 148, ll. 106 f.)
- 71 Le cuer ot plus fier d'un lupart (II, 24, l. 792)  
Si come . . . lupars,  
A lui deffendre s'abandone (I, 57, ll. 316 f.)  
Et fiers com . . . lupars (II, 102, l. 169)  
Et fier con lupart (II, 375, l. 139)
- 72 A tes cours bras et à potes,  
Qui sont grosses con deus macheus (I, 165, ll. 388 f.)
- 73 Qu'il a les jambes sens jointure  
Ausi roides com uns mairiens (I, 237, ll. 122 f.)
- 74 Dont flori sont li arbre  
Des blans fiers clers et frois con marbre (I, 87, ll. 235 f.)  
.ij. arbres,  
Engielez et frois plus que marbres (III, 68, ll. 619 f.)
- 75 Qu'elle est si ivielle et hounie  
Com est la mers quant est sans onde (II, 262, ll. 106 f.)
- 76 J. blanc et l'autre noir que meure (II, 183, l. 497)
- 77 Viustus, si c'uns molins à vent,  
De toille (I, 167, ll. 456 f.)
- 78 Si con li oisiaus de boun aire,  
Qui tost est dontés et apris,  
Et si est tost venus à pris  
Li frans hom, quant de cuer s'i prent (I, 47, ll. 64 ff.)
- 79 Tout ensi c'ors  
Est sour tous metaus purs et fins,  
Sont fais et nons, vie et defins  
De lui deseur tout pur et fin (I, 85, ll. 174 ff.)  
Douche vierge et fine plus c'ors (III, 130, l. 47)  
Qu'elle ot les crins luisans et sors  
De teil coulour con est fins ors (II, 310, ll. 219 f.)  
Elle est pure con li ors fins  
Qui pluseurs fois est affinnés (II, 264, ll. 162 f.)

- Amant, ce devez retenir  
 Qu'ainsi c'orfevres l'or affine,  
 Ainsi fait amours contenir  
 Celui qui aime d'amour fine (III, 180, ll. 97 ff.)  
 Et est si com ors affinée,  
 Qui a esté en la fournaise (III, 209, ll. 190 f.)  
 Tout ensemment comme fins ors  
 Est en la fournaise affinez,  
 Aussi est il enluminez  
 D'ouneur et de bonnes vertus (III, 232, ll. 102 ff.)  
 Et tout aussi com de l'or fin,  
 Qui est afinez plusieurs fois,  
 Voit on que loyautes et fois  
 En la fin le preudomme afine (III, 237 f., ll. 82 ff.)  
 80 Si com paille s'en volle au vent (II, 323, l. 638)  
 81 Ensi com la pantere enmainne  
 Les biestes par sa douce alainne (II, 291, ll. 39 f.)  
 82 Les gens les papeillons resambent,  
 Qui à la lumiere s'asambent  
 Et si se fierent ens et ardent (III, 214 f., ll. 117 ff.)  
 83 Cil a les puins plus durs que pierre (I, 172, l. 610)  
 84 Que tout ensi come en la mer  
 Li grans poissons prent le petit,  
 Ensi sont au siecle aatit  
 Li riche des pources mangier (I, 3, ll. 60 ff.)  
 85 Ains samble plus douce que rée (I, 34, l. 91)  
 86 Li arbre, lances  
 De divers fus, roides et blances,  
 Drues con ros (I, 87, ll. 241 ff.)  
 87 Que plus estoit enluminée  
 Qui rose en may la matinée (II, 13, ll. 409 f.)  
 Et deseur avoit teil coulour  
 Con est la rose el tamps d'esté (II, 310, ll. 214 f.)  
 88 Mauvaisement son sens emploie  
 Li conseilieres quant il ploie  
 Aussi com li rosiaus au vent (III, 275, ll. 263 ff.)  
 89 Estous et hardis con senglers (II, 102, l. 168)  
 90 Ausi comme li singes fet,  
 Qui tout ce qu'il voit contrefet (III, 219, ll. 77 f.)  
 91 Dechi demain vreimeil que soie (II, 273, l. 68)  
 92 Il enlumine le repaire,  
 Se com li solaus . . .  
 Et i porte joie commune (III, 231, ll. 60 ff.)  
 93 Et frit con tourtyalz en payelle (II, 41, l. 1377)  
 Li cuers de grant paour fraiele  
 Et frit con tourtiaus em paieie (II, 129, ll. 57 f.)  
 94 J. jour cevaugoit son cemin,  
 Si com le truis en parcemin (II, 63, ll. 17 f.)

- 95 Fort le trouvoient comme tour (II, 200, l. 1042)  
 Et demeure cois en l'estour  
 Ossi seïurs qu'en une tour (II, 114, ll. 31 f.)  
 Là se plante ou plus grant estour  
 Aussi seïurs k'en une tour,  
 Si con Gauwains et Piercevaus (II, 73, ll. 71 ff.)
- 96 Li couvens  
 De dames iert legiers con vens (II, 271, ll. 15 f.)  
 K'ensi com vens cace la paille (II, 320, l. 540)

## 2. OTHER PROVERBIAL PHRASES

- 97 Elles n'accontent mie .i. ail  
 A lor painne n'à lor travail (II, 25, ll. 825 f.)
- 98 Ne vaut une escassée agille (I, 12, l. 334)  
 Quant en bone amor, t' n'a gille,  
 Ne vaut bone fois une agille (I, 143, ll. 309 f.)
- 99 Mais cius los ne vaut une alose  
 A chevalier (I, 192, ll. 148 f.)
- 100 Que deci ens ès mons d'Ausai . . .  
 Sont li plus riche et li plus noble (I, 1, ll. 8-10)
- 101 Ne le sierroit mie de blanches  
 Ne ne le losengoit de rien (II, 6, ll. 172 f.; cf. note, p. 383)
- 102 Issi, de la folie burent (I, 218, l. 409)
- 103 Qui ne me prisoit un bouton (I, 170, l. 540)
- 104 Ains a la retraite cornée  
 Si s'est consilliés a Jacop (I, 51, ll. 166 f.; cf. note, p. 403)
- 105 Que . . .  
 . . . jusqu'en Constantinoble  
 Sont li plus riche et li plus noble (I, 1, ll. 8 ff.)  
 Ch'est la plus bielle et la plus noble  
 Ki soit jusqu'en Constantinoble (II, 32, ll. 1077 f.)  
 T'en ensengnerai la plus noble  
 Qui soit jusqu'en Constantinoble (II, 283, ll. 53 f.)  
 Nul prince plus preu ne plus noble  
 N'avoit jusqu'en Constantinoble (II, 291, ll. 23 f.)
- 106 Ce fu li kuqus de pute aire,  
 Ki à maint home a dit grant lait (III, 5, ll. 144 f.)  
 "Tout cuku," fait il, "tout cuku!"  
 Il en fist maint cuer irascu  
 De ce k'il lor dist tel laidure (III, 10 f., 309 ff.)
- 107 Che iert bien dras selonc la penne (III, 26, l. 845; cf. note, p. 335)
- 108 Que el roiaume et en l'empire  
 Cius siecles cascun jor empire (I, 1, ll. 17 f.; cf. note, p. 379)
- 109 Dont souvent en fu escaudés  
 Tout sans aiwe caude et sans fu (II, 337, ll. 1100 f.)  
 N'en soit sains chaude aige eschaudeis (III, 24, l. 755)
- 110 Nul prince plus preu ne plus noble  
 N'avoit . . .

- ... jusques en la fin d'Espaigne (II, 291, ll. 23 ff.)
- 111 N'a si maufait deci en Gales (I, 166, l. 394)
- 112 Sa force ne vaut un gastel (I, 240, l. 218)
- 113 Que tout mon tans ai despendu  
Pour gieter sour le haut as poires (I, 354, ll. 2485 f.; cf. note, p. 525)
- 114 Pour çou qu'ele het dras en male (I, 4, l. 104; cf. note, p. 381)
- 115 Estoie en la plus bele lande  
Que on trovast jusqu'en Illande (III, 1, ll. 7 f.)  
Lor venismes en une lande  
N'ot plus bele jusqu'en Illande (III, 72, ll. 767 f.)
- 116 Mais cil qui de lange font lance,  
Ont la querelle desraisnie (I, 251, ll. 188 f.; cf. note, p. 499)
- 117 Bien avoit fait du leu pastour (III, 272, l. 162)  
Li bouciers fu plus abaubis  
Qu'entre .x. leus une brebis (II, 124, ll. 99 f.)  
N'est pas merveille se deveurent  
.XX. leu ou .xxx. une brebis (III, 208, ll. 176 f.)  
Ce sont droit leu,  
Qui de brebis font maint lait jeu (III, 185, ll. 130 f.)
- 118 Mais tel suet mangier sans chandelle (I, 252, l. 208)
- 119 Or est changie la merele,  
Mal est tournée la guerele,  
C'on l'a à Montfaucon pendu (III, 271, ll. 117 ff.)  
Trop a le merele mestràite  
Qui par tiex vilains se gouverne (III, 281, ll. 130 f.)
- 120 Dame, quantes fois vo longhece  
A anuit esté mesurée? (II, 277, ll. 204 f.)
- 121 Si n'a mur  
De Couloingne jusc'à Namur,  
Tant soit fors li murs ne massis (I, 121, ll. 59 ff.)
- 122 Que ne valoie pas .ij. nois (II, 203, l. 1116)  
Mais à che ne monte .ii. nois (III, 37, l. 1206)
- 123 Et qui proumet, s'il ne pardoune,  
Je n'en donroie une pardoune (I, 96, ll. 25 f.)
- 124 Car il pert assez à l'esteule  
Que bons n'est mie li espis (III, 301, ll. 50 f.; cf. note, p. 401)
- 125 N'en ra qui vaille .i. poil de cate (I, 156, l. 108)
- 126 Car je n'aconte  
A tous les mauvais .ii. poriaus (I, 97, ll. 44 f.)
- 127 Et doit prendre le frain as dens (I, 49, l. 102)
- 128 Ne laissa que ne li mesist  
Pluisour fois la puche en l'oreille (II, 9, ll. 264 f.)
- 128a Son point coiemment espia,  
Car bien sot son roit de tel trait (II, 12, ll. 384 f.)
- 129 S'il ert fius au plus vilain home,  
Qui soit en l'empire de Roume (I, 178, ll. 87 f.)  
Car il n'a prince tresqu'à Rome (I, 239, l. 172)
- 130 .vij. ans (I, 282, l. 399; II, 317, l. 465, 318, l. 487, 323, l. 644, 330, l.

873, 363, l. 247, 364, l. 285, 367, l. 385; III, 292, l. 105)

131 Dont reconsiliés

En a mains, qui saillent bon saut

En lui croire (I, 86, ll. 200 ff.)

132 Ce voit on bien tout en apiert

A ciaux qui le siecle ont en main (I, 2, ll. 40 f.)

133 Où il aroit et tieste et glose (III, 254, l. 140; cf. note, p. 391)

134 Sèvent trop bien torchier lor main (III, 278, l. 20; cf. note, p. 397)

135 Dont il ne set ne vent ne voie (I, 157, l. 136; cf. note, p. 451)

### C. SENTENTIOUS REMARKS

136 Et quele fame qu'amans aime,

Desus toutes bele la claime,

Encor fust ce qu'ele fust laide:

Ainsi grasse pour biauté plaide

Et en toutes causes l'escuse (III, 244, ll. 31 ff.)

Mais on doit amant appeler,

Qui vuet son couvenant celer,

Porter pais et hounnour s'amie,

Ne de changier voloir n'a mie

Pour plus biele ne pour plus riche (III, 9, ll. 245 ff.)

137 Et si savés bien k'amours point

Si fort et maistrise les siens,

Qu'il n'est si fors ne si siens

Qui contre amour se puist deffendre (II, 276, ll. 158 ff.)

Mais amours, — qui est dame et mestre

Del mont, qui justice et esmaistre

Tout ciaux à cui elle se prent

Et de sa flame les esprent,

Des dus, des contes et des rois

Et maire et abat les desrois,

Et de tous ciaux qui sont en vie, —

Dou jouvenciel ot grant envie,

Qui à lui n'obeïssoit point (II, 309, ll. 187 ff.)

Amant, ce devez retenir

Qu'ainsi c'orfevres l'or affine,

Ainsi fait amours contenir

Celui qui aime d'amour fine (III, 180, ll. 97 ff.)

Mais ses cuers y est nuit et jour,

C'onques de ce liu ne se part,

Ke loing qu'il voise ne quel part

Que li corps soit, li cuers demeure,

Car amours l'a d'un dart à meure

Feru, dont adès le fier sent (II, 320 f., ll. 560 ff.)

Car amours est de teil affaire

Qu'elle ne seit garder mesure (II, 321, ll. 586 f.)

Mais amours, qui fait encombrer



- Maint homme et faire fol marcié (II, 318, ll. 480 f.)  
 Drois dist qu'Amours doit merchier  
 Tous ciaux qui bien scèvent donner  
 A amour loiaument servir (I, 253, ll. 241 ff.)  
 Jamais amors n'obliera, n'onques ne fis (I, 333, l. 1901)  
 Amours par sa nobilité  
 Et le vilain fait gentil estre (III, 171, ll. 8 f.)  
 Nus ne sent les maus d'amours,  
 S'il n'aime ou s'il n'a amé (I, 269, ll. 32 f.)  
 Ne doit pas le bien sentir  
 D'Amours qui n'en sent le mal (I, 361, ll. 2680 f.)  
 138 Car ki bien aime, il est en crieme  
 D'aïrer çou qu'il aime (I, 139, ll. 189 f.)  
 139 Car amender doit son usage  
 Qui s'accompaigne à homme sage (III, 55, ll. 191 f.)  
 140 De pierdre et de gaaignier erent  
 Coustumier, pour çou peu plorèrent;  
 Car si fais est li mestiers d'armes,  
 Si n'i affierent pas grans larmes (II, 228, ll. 1905 ff.)  
 141 Ensi qu'il pœt aler si aille,  
 Car ainsi vont les aventures,  
 Qui à le fois viennent moult dures  
 Et à le fois miex qu'à souhait (II, 188, ll. 636 ff.)  
 142 Bien i pert à fais et à mours:  
 Quant faut avoïrs, si faut amours (I, 152, ll. 45 f.)  
 143 Aventure est quant bien en chiet,  
 On voit souvent qu'il en meschiet;  
 Du bien cheoir sai poi nouvelle (III, 303, ll. 127 ff.)  
 144 Car boins consaus est de grant pris,  
 U soit en saige u en fol pris (II, 138, ll. 33 f.)  
 Si est sages et bien apris  
 Ki bon conseil croit et retient  
 Et qui selonc ce se maintient  
 Que ses bons consaus lui aprent,  
 Et qui ce ne fait, il mesprent (II, 1, ll. 6 ff.)  
 145 Nus ne puet faire bon ouvragne,  
 Ke fondemens primiers ne vaigne (I, 285, ll. 503 f.)  
 146 Bonne œuvre est de biax dis reprendre,  
 Car on y puet moult de biens prendre (II, 86, ll. 21 f.)  
 147 Ainc si boullans euwe ne fu,  
 Se longement iert loing del fu,  
 K'elle ne redevenist froide (I, 332, ll. 1880 ff.)  
 148 Salemons dist en ses provierbes:  
 Qu'il vient miex à porée d'erbes  
 Appieler gens en carité,  
 Qu'il ne face donner plenté  
 D'un gras viel avøk hayne (II, 77, ll. 1 ff.)  
 149 Yer voloit tout le mont conquerre,

- Hui n'a il que .vij. piez de terre (III, 124, ll. 31 f.)  
 Et li dient que de la coze  
 Où on ne puet preu conquerer  
 N'i a tel c'on le laisse ester (I, 330, ll. 1824 ff.)
- 151 Mais il me couvient consantir  
 Çou que je ne puis adrecier (I, 249, ll. 110 f.)
- 152 Car on dist que pas ne foloie  
 Qui à preudomme se conseille  
 Et de retenir s'apareille  
 Son conseil, ce est bien prouvé (II, 207, ll. 1254 ff.)
- 153 Vous savés bien qu'il est coustumme  
 Pieça, en ce siecle terrien,  
 Que on ne conte à poure rien (II, 326, ll. 746 ff.)
- 154 Car cius ne puet conter à point,  
 Qui conte, s'on n'entent à lui (I, 45, ll. 10 f.)
- 155 Car cose qui n'est escoutée  
 Me samble pierdue et gastée (I, 18, ll. 21 f.)
- 156 Car en cascune creature,  
 Selonc droit ordene de nature,  
 Convient c'on i quide son preu,  
 Ains c'on en ait ne grant ne peu,  
 K'il n'est nus hom qui vœlle atraire  
 La coze qui li est contraire (I, 291, ll. 676 ff.)
- 157 Car celuy puet on fol clamer  
 Qui coumence et ne scet finer (I, 259, ll. 424 f.)
- 158 Fols est qui vœt tendre à avoir  
 C'aquerre ne puet ne avoir,  
 Et moult malle est la couvoitise  
 Qui de tel penser l'omme atise (II, 133, ll. 1 ff.)  
 Dont à martire  
 Veons maint couvoiteus fin prendre,  
 Cui couvoitise fait emprendre  
 Tel chose qu'à fin ne puet metre (III, 273, ll. 182 ff.)
- 159 Le besongne que on ne puet  
 Amender, l'endurer l'estuet,  
 N'i vaut ne courous ne esmais,  
 Car il n'en puet el iestre humais (II, 39, ll. 1297 ff.)
- 160 Par defaute d'entendement  
 Voit on mout de reprendement  
 En toutes gens, et clers et lais (II, 371, ll. 1 ff.)
- 161 Envie  
 (Qui pas n'est morte, ainz est en vie) (I, 463, ll. 61 f.)  
 Envie,  
 Qui tant jour a esté en vie (III, 72, ll. 745 f.)  
 Mais envie en est souveraine  
 Et la rachine premeraine,  
 Et orguels en est li estos (I, 73, ll. 281 ff.)
- 162 Il pert bien k'envi fait le bien (II, 141, l. 13)

- 163 Quant li leres est tant menés,  
K'il est as fources amenés,  
Et il voit que cascuns s'apreste  
De sa mort qui est toute preste,  
Si dist on qu'encore espoire il  
A escaper de cel peril (I, 339, ll. 2079 ff.)
- 164 "Amis, sachiez certainement,"  
Dist Entendemens," qu'asseür  
Ne doit nus estre en son eür,  
Car s'il est lonctemps bien cheü  
En petit d'eure est mescheü (III, 87, ll. 1238 ff.)  
Car eürs del monde et richesce  
Ressamble la flour qui tost sesce  
Et poi en sa biauté demeure,  
Qu'ele chiet et faut en une heure (III, 92, ll. 1417 ff.)
- 165 Mais chascuns fait à son avis (III, 219, l. 52)
- 166 Car tout çou ne fait pas à croire,  
Ke les femmes jurent et dient,  
Quant de lor amour escondient (I, 300, ll. 924 ff.)
- 167 Qui feu alume contre vent,  
De tant plus art (III, 185, ll. 138 f.)
- 167a Ki va trop priés de la calour  
Du fu, il se puet trop bruïr,  
Et pour ce le doit on fuïr (II, 45, ll. 1495 ff.)
- 168 Tous deduis couvient prendre fin (II, 14, l. 457)
- 169 Forte chose a en fol aprendre,  
Car tant n'ot de bien recorder  
Qu'il y puist son cuer acorder (III, 261, ll. 10 ff.)  
On ne doit mies trop reprendre  
Aucun fol, s'on li voit emprendre  
Par ynnorance aucune cose,  
Car il avient que teils hons cose  
Sour qui il a bien à koser;  
Pour çou vous di ge bien qu'oser  
Ne doit nuls hons tel cose faire,  
Mais à bien tourner son afaire,  
Là doit cascuns mettre s'entente.  
Or vous vœl dire sans atente,  
Pourquoi cest provierbe commence,  
Car il n'afiert mie c'om mence,  
Ains doit on ensievir le voir (II, 271, ll. 1 ff.)
- 170 Fols est qui par autrui met en dete,  
Puisque puet par le sien finer (II, 140, ll. 86 f.)
- 171 Mieux vaut folie recreüwe  
Que amontée est parcreüwe (II, 44, ll. 1458 f.)
- 172 Mout est Fortune merveilleuse,  
Et durement est perilleuse  
En ses dons li asseurance,

- Car souvent, sanz dessegurance,  
 Tolt plus que n'ait donné assez (III, 151, ll. 1 ff.)  
 C'on voit mout souvent escheoir,  
 Quant en meillour point est nature,  
 Par aucune mesaventure  
 De fortune, qui est diverse,  
 A un seul coup tresbusche et verse (III, 126 f., ll. 112 ff.)  
 Et fortune aussi d'autre part,  
 Qui tourne merueilleusement (III, 54, ll. 156 f.)  
 Fortune, qui mult est isniele,  
 Tient en sa main une roiele,  
 Dont elle torne, en mult pau d'eure,  
 Le mont ce k'est desous deseure (I, 297, ll. 839 ff.)  
 Bien avés oï chā devant  
 Comment Fortune o sa roielle,  
 Qui mult est tornans et isnielle,  
 Tourne pluisors loiaus amis,  
 Tant qu'en la cartre les a mis (I, 354, ll. 2463 ff.)  
 Et "Haut en chière seray,"  
 Fait cil qui sour la roe monte  
 De Fortune et ne scet qu'amonte (I, 471, ll. 100 ff.)  
 La roe de fortune isnielle,  
 Qui moult souvent cange et tournielle,  
 Qui le bas fait en haut monter,  
 Le haut descendre et desmonter,  
 L'a abatu del mont el val (II, 330, ll. 883 ff.)  
 Or est la roe retournée  
 Que fortune ot jus ratournée (II, 347, ll. 1421 f.)  
 Et Fortune, qui est soubite  
 Et fause et [par] trop decevans (I, 473, ll. 150 f.)  
 173 Maintes gens gaber en ferriesmes  
 Et mains prisies en seriesmes  
 Li une et li utre partie (III, 27 f., ll. 881 ff.)  
 174 Selonc que resons descuevre,  
 De gentil cuer la gentil œvre (I, 464, ll. 93 f.)  
 175 Tout sont gentil cil qui bien font (III, 195, l. 194)  
 176 Car nous trouvons en une istoire,  
 Qu'à grans gens n'est pas la victoire  
 Mais où Diex le vœt envoyer (II, 159, ll. 71 ff.)  
 177 Hardis cuers au besoing se prueve (II, 113, l. 1)  
 178 Haus hons doit à haute œvre entendre,  
 S'il set son non à droit entendre,  
 C'est à honnour et à prouecce (II, 107, ll. 1 ff.)  
 179 Car, qui vœt verité conter,  
 Moult est haus hons de petit pris,  
 Quant il s'est à bas voler pris (II, 107 f., ll. 18 ff.)  
 180 Car jone dame à viel mari  
 A maintes fois le cuer mari (II, 39 f., ll. 1313 f.)

- 181 Ne doit on pas, ce vous afin,  
Laisser le bien por mal à prendre (I, 117, ll. 270 f.)
- 182 Car par la langue, c'est la somme,  
Tient on fermement la preudome,  
Si con cheval par la frenure (I, 68, ll. 139 ff.)
- 183 Et dist: "S'on em parloit au main,  
On ne seroit jà le jour aise" (II, 253, ll. 44 f.)
- 184 Tout somes fait d'une matere,  
Et tout d'un pere et d'une mere,  
S'est la matere à tous commune,  
Fors tant que richesse et fortune  
A l'un plus que l'autre monté (III, 191, ll. 75 ff.)
- 185 Car li mauvès het par nature  
Tous ciaux qui li moustrent droiture (II, 255, ll. 17 f.)
- 186 Poi souvent voit on avenir  
Ne couviegne à la fin venir  
Les mauvès et les traïtours  
A male fin par leur malz tours (III, 274, ll. 229 ff.)
- 187 Car mauvais consaus fait cangier  
Maint cuer et muer son pourpos (II, 9, ll. 272 f.)  
Et maus consaus maint cuer desvoie (II, 44, l. 1477)
- 188 Car qui a mauvais non aquis,  
Ansçois qu'il l'ait boin reconquis,  
Plus c'au double l'estet pener,  
Ains c'à boin non puist rasener (II, 173, ll. 199 ff.)
- 189 Car qui d'autrui mesdist à tort,  
Villonnie fait et se tort;  
Mais on recorde en maint pays  
Que li enfes qui est hays  
Ne biel vis ne biel ris ne fait (II, 185, ll. 565 ff.)
- 190 Car la vaillance dou preudome  
Doit estre mireoirs à l'hoir  
Por lui ensignier à valoir (I, 177, ll. 40 ff.)
- 191 Mais tout morrons et haut et bas,  
Ne couvient qu'il en soit debas (II, 291, ll. 21 f.)  
C'est la mors, où tant a desroy,  
Qui n'espargne ne duc ne roy,  
Ne prince de terre ne conte (III, 84, ll. 1135 ff.)  
Que trestous mourir nous couvient (III, 149, l. 123)  
Mais les mors couvient oublier,  
Car pour plourer ne pour crier  
Ne les poet on mie ravoïr (II, 224, ll. 1761 ff.)  
Souvent de lor mort li souvient,  
Mais les mors, c'oublier couvient,  
Pour dœl faire nes puet ravoïr (II, 307, ll. 135 ff.)
- 192 Mais j'aï dire k'el douc mors  
Est souvent prise amere mors,  
Et çou crien ge, se Dex me voes! (I, 308, ll. 1172 ff.)

- 193 Li gentil devienent lanier  
 Et ont cangie lot nature  
 Pour lor mauvaise noureture (I, 4, ll. 88 ff.)  
 Et devroit estriver par force  
 Contre nature, qu'il efforce  
 De sa noureture les poins (III, 263, ll. 55 ff.)  
 De sa noureture mestret  
 Et à male nature tret (III, 264, ll. 83 f.)  
 Et par tant, ce dist l'escripture,  
 Nature passe nourreture.  
 Voirs est, nourreture vilaine  
 Souvent bonne nature amaine  
 A ordure et à vilenie (III, 265, ll. 115 ff.)
- 194 Ne femme d'orgillous coraige  
 Ne doit à boinne fin venir,  
 Ce voit on souvent avenir (II, 311, ll. 244 ff.)
- 195 Li paons est cointes oisiaus  
 Et sa penne belle et luisant  
 De plumage biel et plaisant,  
 Mais miex vaut la chars que la penne (III, 34, ll. 1104 ff.)
- 196 Oï exemple prendre pourés  
 Qu'il vaut mieus parler saïgement  
 Que ne faice vollaïgement (II, 168, ll. 22 ff.)
- 197 Saïges est qui sa langhe atempre  
 En biel parler, et tart et tempre  
 Est bielle parolle en saison,  
 Et s'est bien voie de raison (II, 167, ll. 1 ff.)
- 198 Et bien saciez c'à tous les sages  
 Le langue n'est fors que messages  
 De la parole du cuer dire (I, 67, ll. 127 ff.)
- 199 Et male parole escapée  
 Ne puet mie estre rehapée  
 Ne en la bouce arrier retraite,  
 Nient plus que la saïète traite  
 Puet à l'arc retorner ariere,  
 Ne puet on en nule maniere  
 Le male parole rengloutre,  
 Qui par le bouce est passée outre (I, 66, f., ll. 105 ff.)  
 Car on voit plusours fois esclore  
 Un grant mal, qui lues ne ciet mie,  
 D'une parole tost vomie (I, 66, ll. 102 ff.)
- 200 Car on voit bien que tout à trait  
 Uns petis biens .i. grant atrait;  
 Et qui .i. petit bien commence,  
 De plus em plus croist la semence  
 Tant que grant bien em pœent croistre (II, 164, ll. 39 ff.)
- 201 Car j'ai souvent oï retraire:  
 Qui pources est de toutes riens,



- Mult li est boins uns petis biens (I, 323, ll. 1611 ff.)  
 202 Je n'en voel parler plus parfont:  
 Tout sont pseudome qui bien font (I, 62, ll. 435 f.)  
 203 Nenil voir, ains preus, sans deffendre,  
 Ne se rendi (I, 190, ll. 93 f.)  
 204 A moi pœt on exemple prendre  
 Que nuls ne se doit entremettre  
 De riens nulle à autrui proumettre  
 Dont il n'a de donner talent (II, 206, ll. 1204 ff.)  
 205 Mais il est drois que on reneut  
 La corde quant elle est desroute (I, 275, ll. 196 f.)  
 206 Que tout ensi come en la mer  
 Li grans poissons prent le petit,  
 Ensi sont au siecle aatit  
 Li riche des pources mangier (I, 3, ll. 60 ff.)  
 207 Pour çou dist: "Rices n'est nuls hon,  
 Combien qu'il ait d'argent fuison,  
 S'il n'a d'avoir sa souffisance (II, 135 f., ll. 77 ff.)  
 208 Ç'ai oï dire aucune fois,  
 Qui riches est et il puet estre  
 De courtois et de gentius estre,  
 Il doit à hounour parvenir  
 Et moult doit on de lui tenir (III, 193, ll. 128 ff.)  
 209 Gent qui de çou sont costumieres,  
 Nient plus c'on puet el sac ouvert  
 Celer ce qui est descouviert (I, 69, ll. 178 ff.)  
 210 Quant sages à folour s'assente,  
 Il en est assez plus repris  
 C'uns fols en cui cuer s'est repris  
 Li maus et folie reprise (III, 117, ll. 4 ff.)  
 211 Mais on dist que quant li hons quide  
 Sages estre, sens de lui wide  
 Et est sos, piecha c'on l'a dit (II, 119, ll. 51 ff.)  
 212 Se saumons à pourchiaux donnoie,  
 Mout seroient mal emploïé,  
 Mais quant bel dit sont desploïé  
 A chiaux qui volentiers les oient (III, 134, ll. 28 ff.)  
 213 Moult est la science mauvaïse  
 Qui n'est moustrée et desploïe,  
 Si est en chiaux mal emploïe,  
 Oï elle est celée et repose (II, 303, ll. 6 ff.)  
 214 Drois dist: S'aucuns hons veut tenir  
 .II. voies, ce ne puet faillir,  
 Que li une ne l'en desvoit;  
 Drois dist, s'aucuns hons veut servir  
 .II. seigneurs, peu voit avenir  
 Qu'envers l'un desloyaus ne soit (I, 256, ll. 325 ff.)  
 215 Il n'est nus hom, tant puist valoir,

- S'il met le siecle en noncaloir  
Que li siecles n'i meche lui (I, 17, ll. 9 ff.)
- 216 Qui l'un siecle pour l'autre pert,  
Fos est et plains de nonsavoir,  
Puis qu'il les puet andeus avoir (III, 109, ll. 196 ff.)
- 217 Et ce dist drois que folement  
Èvre haus hom qui tourne à vent  
Loial conseil pour garçounier (I, 252, ll. 196 ff.)
- 218 Et l'escripture nous retrait:  
L'une bone œvre l'autre atrait,  
Et li uns pechiés l'autre doune  
A celui qui s'i abandoue (I, 54, ll. 225 ff.)
- 219 Autres avoires n'est fors que vens,  
Qui en petit d'eure trespasse (III, 120, ll. 100 f.)
- 220 Ne d'amours? C'est trespas de vent  
Ou tout ainssi c'om ait songié (III, 84, ll. 1160 f.)
- 221 Et par tant nient plus com en vent  
Ne doit preudom avoir fiance  
En los mondain, qui deffiance  
Fet à celui qui plus s'i fie (III, 240, ll. 158 ff.)
- 222 Car aussi tost comme est estainte  
La chandoile du vent atainte,  
Est vie d'omme tost alée (III, 54, ll. 169 ff.)
- 223 Rihoteus et plains d'amertume  
Et avarissieus devient  
Li hons quant à velleche vient (II, 16, ll. 522 ff.)
- 224 Trop est, ce dist, de viés mairien,  
Ne vaut plus riens por metre en œvre (I, 194, ll. 236 f.)
- 225 Tu iès vilains, et, par nature,  
Vilains sor toute creature  
Doit estre fel et mesdisans (I, 164, ll. 345 ff.)
- 226 D'un vilain en haut estat mis  
Dirai, quant m'en sui entremis  
De parler. Si di, c'est grans faute  
Quant vilains monte en hounour haute,  
Qu'il devient fiers et orgueilleus *etc.* (III, 280, ll. 91 ff.)
- 227 Ne cuidiés pas que je vilain,  
Se je le di, mais cil vilainent,  
Qui vilonie font (I, 126, ll. 190 ff.)  
Dont est vilains, je n'en dout mie,  
Li hom qui fait la vilounie (I, 178, ll. 79 f.)  
Bien nous monstre raisons et drois  
Que vilains vient de vilenie (III, 190, ll. 20 f.)  
Vilains est qui fait vilounie (III, 97, l. 18)  
De che ne me puet nus desdire  
Que vilains ne soit, à droit dire,  
Chius qui œvre vilainement,  
U ma langue vilaine ment (III, 102, ll. 167 ff.)

- 228 Li yvres point ne se hontoie  
De chose qu'en yvresche fache (III, 18, ll. 568 f.)

B. J. WHITING

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# THE "BLASONS" IN FRENCH LITERATURE OF THE 16TH CENTURY

TWO or three poems called *blasons* were composed in the 15th century, and an equally small number after 1600, but they are so few that we are fully justified in saying that the genre is the peculiar property of the Renaissance, the most original and characteristic poetic form evolved in France during the 16th century.

There are nearly 300 of these little poems left to us, but except for the goodly handful (nearly 50) of the *Blasons Anatomiques du Corps Femenin*, which have greatly exercised the ingenuity of modern scholars and bibliophiles, the genre has never been closely studied. Indeed, besides the brief, catalogue-like summary devoted to it by Charles d'Héricault,<sup>1</sup> it has been mentioned but by two historians of French literature.<sup>2</sup> Montaignon, in his *Anciennes Poésies françaises*, included a few stray *blasons* (with illuminating notes) and Méon, in 1807, gave an incredibly faulty edition of all the *blasons* he could gather together (with no notes at all).

A study of these *blasons* offers considerable entertainment and instruction, for they deal with every conceivable subject — love, war, politics, religion, anatomy, medicine, flowers, clothes, whiskers, geography, gastronomy, zoology, petrology — not to mention the *Blasons Vertueux* of Jean Chartier, the 212 *Blasons Anagrammatiques* of Claude de Mons and the *Blasons Domestiques* of Gilles Corrozet.

I have divided this study into four parts: 1) the *blasons* up to 1530; 2) the *Blasons Anatomiques*, plus a few others similar in theme; 3) the *Blasons Domestiques*; 4) all the other *blasons*. The first period is the least interesting of the four.

## I

The word *blason* meant originally the coat of arms painted on a shield, and soon came to mean not only the coat of arms but the description of those arms. By a natural extension the term then passed into common parlance to mean a description of anything at all, and not only a eulogistic description, but a diffamatory one. It was used as early as the 13th century in these diverse meanings.

It was not until much later that it was used to designate a particular kind of poem. Thomas Sebillot in his *Art Poétique* (1548, ch. X) says: "Le Blason est une perpétuelle louenge ou continu vitupère de ce qu'on s'est proposé blasonner . . . Autant bien se blasonne le laid comme le beau, et le mauvais comme le bon . . . Le plus bref est le meilleur, mesque il soit agu en conclusion: et est plus dous en ryme platte, et vers de huit syllabes: encores que ceus de dis n'en soient pas regettés comme ineptes . . ."

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres de Coquillart*, II, 147.

<sup>2</sup> H. Guy, *Les Grands Rhétoriciens*, p. 124; A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, I, 89.

This definition of Sebillot applies to the *Blasons Anatomiques* and to later *blasons* but it does not fit some of the very earliest examples. If they did not bear the word *blason* in their title, it would be difficult for us to distinguish exactly what constituted a *blason*. The poets of the 16th century had the same perplexity. Marot, Rabelais and Gringore refer to them indifferently as *blasons*, *épigrammes*, *épistres*, or *descriptions*, while certain poems of Pierre Danché, reprinted several times during the course of the 16th century, appear now as *Ballades*, now as *Blasons*. But we must draw the line somewhere, and, in general, we have confined ourselves to the poems entitled "blason" by their author.

I find some 17 poems entitled *blasons* composed between 1484 and 1530. Of these, 4 are direct heirs of the medieval *débat*. Tilley (*l. c.*) says the *blason* is a sort of development of the medieval *dit*, but that statement is not very satisfactory, for the *dit* is a flexible creature that includes a great variety of poetry, both in form and in matter. Aside from the 4 exceptions just mentioned, I think it is safe to say that the *blason* has no direct medieval ancestor. We shall see at the beginning of our Second Part that Italian influence had much more to do with the great development of the *blason* than did French poetry of the Middle Ages.

The first poem to be called "blason" is the *Blason des Armes et des Dames* of Guillaume Coquillart. It is divided into a "Prologue", the "Blason des Dames", the "Blason des Armes", and a "Conclusion", and was composed to be recited to the youthful Charles VIII on the occasion of his coronation at Rheims in 1484. This *blason* is nothing more or less than a *débat*. The "Prologue" announces the subject of the dispute: whether a good king should devote himself to the fair sex or to warfare; next, the ladies' side of the argument is set forth, and we learn the benefits to be derived from assiduous intercourse with them; then, the same procedure for the "Armes", and, finally, the "Conclusion" informs us (and Charles VIII) that a judicious practice of both is the best solution. The poem is in 8 syllable verse, and, in spite of its inordinate length (483 lines), can be read with pleasure.

It seems to have inspired Roger de Collerye to compose one of his worst poems, the *Blazon des Dames, en Dialogues*. This is one of the many poems of the period consecrated to the panegyric of women and smacks of the Middle Ages in more than one particular. For example, the two interlocutors are "Beau-Parler" and "Recueil-Gracieulx"; also, the author makes a parade of his erudition, naming a great number of women in history, legend and the Bible who are noted for their constancy in love. The two debaters agree that women are worthy of all praise; they include sage maxims on how to gain and keep a lady's love and on gentlemanly deportment, and conclude that they have "lauded the ladies to the skies." This *blason* has nothing remarkable about it except its display of learning. We do read that:

"Charles huytiesme belliqueur

Les a fort aymées, prisées" (the ladies),

which serves at least to date the poem as after 1498 and, incidentally, shows that Charles followed the advice proffered to him in 1484 by Coquillart.

The second *blason* (in point of date) appeared in 1486. It is the famous and often reprinted<sup>3</sup> *Grand Blason de Faulses Amours*, by the "bon moyne",

<sup>3</sup> The best version is in Piaget and Picot's edition of the *Œuvres* of Alexia, vol. I.

Guillaume Alexis. This is the best known of all the *blasons* except Marot's poem on the "beau tétin." It is one of the many poems of the period offering in alternate stanzas or discourses both the satire and apology of womankind,<sup>4</sup> being a dialogue between a dashing gentleman and a monk, and is particularly notable for its curious and difficult rhyme-scheme, which very few later poets had the temerity to imitate.<sup>5</sup> Like the *blason* of Coquillart, this poem is a *débat*; but more, it is a long, moral disquisition, comprising 126 stanzas of 12 lines each. The gentleman and the monk meet on the road and enter into a discussion of love and women, the gentleman upholding "folle amour", that is to say, love outside of marriage. As we expect, since the author is a monk, the victory remains with the defender of chastity. The gentleman agrees that his opponent is right: "Il mentoit comme l'Evangile." Pleasing in treatment, unique in form, sprinkled with popular proverbs, dealing with a question that is ever present, it is not hard to account for the popularity of the *Grand Blason*.

This poem, by reason of its content, aroused quite a literary commotion, and as late as 1512 we find the *Contreblason de Fausses Amours*, composed by one Estées, (sic) "povre simple hermite, élève indigne de maistre Jehan Molinet."<sup>6</sup> Like the *Grand Blason*, the *Contreblason* is a dialogue (between a courtisan and a nun<sup>7</sup> on the subject of carnal love. The two poems finish on the same rhymes; and Estées uses Alexis' peculiar "douzain" throughout. The "poor simple hermit" proposed to corroborate and amplify the theses of Alexis as set forth in his *Grand Blason*, but he did not succeed very well. In Prof. Guy's opinion he adds "exactly nothing at all" to his predecessor; and I quite agree with M. Guy.

Chronologically, the next *blasons* to appear are four by Pierre Danché. At least we know that the *Blason de la Belle Fille* was composed as early as 1501, for it figures in the *Jardin de Plaisance* of that date. Not being able to date the others, we will examine them all here. The *Blason de la Belle Fille* is a worthy forerunner of the *Blasons Anatomiques*. In this gracious but scandalously explicit enumeration of the qualities of a beautiful woman the author reveals some bizarre and well-nigh incredible details concerning feminine toilets which shock our more fastidious modern minds but of which we find the exactitude attested to by Brantôme and other writers of the 16th century.

The *Blason des Bons Vins de France* leads us into the field of gastronomy. Brunet's *Manuel* and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* contain the strange — and inaccurate — statement that this *blason* is "très libre". It is nothing of the

<sup>4</sup> The *Contreblason de Fausses Amours*, which we discuss next, is arranged the same way. Collyere's *blason* is entirely eulogistic.

<sup>5</sup> La Fontaine tried it. His poem on "Janot et Catin" is a souvenir not only of Alexis, whom he mentions, but of Marot.

<sup>6</sup> There are two copies of this poem in the Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogued under the name of Charles de Croy. Méon, in the preface to his *Blasons*, abundantly proved that the author was "Estées" (sic); and this opinion, though not followed by J. C. Brunet in his *Manuel* nor by G. Brunet in the preface to his edition of the *Grand Blason*, is fortified by Piaget and Picot (l. c.) and by H. Petersen in his recent book (1927) entitled *Détrétes*. The *Contreblason* is in Piaget and Picot, I. Neither the *Grand Blason* nor the *Contreblason* are in Méon.

<sup>7</sup> Méon, in his preface, considers "courtisienne" to mean a "dame de la cour" rather than "courtisane."

kind. It is a listing of more than 50 brands of wine, with words of praise for each, but containing the refrain that:

"Beaune a le bruit surtout pour excellence."

In this connection we might quote from Grosnet's *Blason de Dyjon*:

"Ville de Beaune est située,  
Où est la meilleure vinée  
Qui soit point en toute la terre,  
Selon le bruyt commun qui n'erre:  
Car on dit, "vinum Belnanse  
Super omnium recense."

Danché also "blasonned" a *Beau Cheval*, where we learn what appealed to lovers of horses in those days.

Each of these three *blasons* has a refrain and an envoy, and the first one, in the *Jardin de Plaisance*, is called a *ballade*, but they appeared in print together a few years later entitled *Trois Blasons*. The fourth piece by Danché is a *ballade*, or *blason*, of Money.<sup>8</sup> Money is all-powerful (almost); by it cities are captured, because of it ships sail the seas; it dominates love and honor; it regulates the actions of everybody. But there are three things it cannot purchase — health, youth and paradise. It might be instructive to compare this *blason* with earlier French poems on "Dan Denier" and with similar pieces in Old Spanish. Danché's *blasons* seem to have been fairly popular. At least we find them copied in half a dozen MSS of the 16th century, and various publishers inserted them in divers work.<sup>9</sup>

Gringore's *Blason de Pratique* appeared in his *Folles Enterprises*, (1504), and is a striking description of the rapacious beast that Rabelais later made famous under the name of "Grippeminaud." The *blason* is in 10 syllable verse and comprises 36 lines. "Pratique" is compared to an insatiable monkey; it has a vulpine tail, ears of a donkey, appetite of a hog, and

"Son poil de boc trop long oultre mesure  
Signifie que par folle luxure  
Il obéyt aux dames en telle sorte,  
Que à leur plaisir justice n'est pas forte."  
"Il prent plaisir quant bons vins on luy donne."

and

Gringore's *Description de Procès* deserves to be called a *blason*. At the end of the piece the poet asks the name of the "beste inique" he has just seen in a dream, and learns

"Que tel monstre estoit appellé praticque:  
Le regardant sans trop fort s'estonner,  
Par passetemps le voulut blasonner."

Note that Gringore calls the beast "praticque", a synonym for "procès", and, in fact, "Procès" possesses the same features we have just seen above in "Pratique."

We come now to a number of *blasons* of an entirely different nature than those we have been discussing. It is the year 1509, and Louis XII is having his troubles with Pope Julius II. At that time a whole series of political poems,

<sup>8</sup> It is not in Méon but may be read in A. Joly, *Épithaphe de Triboulet*, Lyon, 1867, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> For example, in the collection called *Fleur de Joyusetex*; by Vêrard in the *Jardin de Plaisance*; and by Marnef in an edition of Coquillart's works (1546).



pamphlets and plays favoring Louis were composed,<sup>10</sup> some, it is said, at his own suggestion. Among these pieces we distinguish several *blasons*. The collection known as the *Blason de la Foy Faussée*<sup>11</sup> I have not seen.

Jean Lemaire de Belges composed a *Blason des Armes des Venitiens*,<sup>12</sup> which does not display great poetical ability. Taking the Lion as representing the Venitian (coat of) arms, he apostrophizes it as follows:

"Lyon nageant, Lyon trotant,  
Lyon yssant, Lyon passant  
Lyon mordant et ravissant . . ."

The last lines of the poem are a eulogy of Louis XII.

The *Blason de la Guerre du Pape, Sez Aliez Prelatz, Gens d'Eglise et des Veniciens ensemble, contre le Roy très-chrétien* exists in MS at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It has been printed, so far as I know, only in Méon's collection, and is anonymous. However, I venture to ascribe it to André de la Vigne, for, in the *Louange des Bons Facteurs*,<sup>13</sup> we read that he had composed a *Blason de la Guerre*; and our poem is reminiscent in form and style of the works of André that one finds in the *Jardin de Plaisance*. It is a long piece, 300 lines or so, divided into a *Prologue* and several *Ballades* and is noteworthy for its patriotic tone and for the dignity and restraint with which it takes to task the Pope, the Gens d'Eglise and the Venetians. The *ballade, Sur le Pêril des Ames*, points out with more truth than mayhap the good poet realized that the warlike and unchristian actions of the "gens d'eglise" cause that

"La foy perist, ames sont en dangier."

The *ballade* entitled *Pour les Gens d'Eglise qui dela les Mons font la Guerre, dont Grans Maulx s'ensuyvent* is the best part of the *blason*. It reminds one of the *Tragiques* of d'Aubigné. In the last *ballade* there appears the name of *Jacques bons boms*, an early mention of a personage who was to acquire fame a long time afterward.

The strange *Blason de le In Exitu Israel de France* goes along in spirit with the three *blasons* we have just mentioned, although it was evidently composed after the battle of Pavia, in 1525. It is a long, macaronic poem, difficult to understand, — a veritable *tour de force* in form, for the first and last line of each of its 55 eight-line stanzas are all or partly in Latin.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, these Latin passages are set forth in the margin, opposite their proper place, and the reader will perceive that, read in succession, they make a consecutive whole and are taken from the *Bible* or from the Church Liturgy. I transcribe a stanza for those who may be curious:

"GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO  
Des cueurs qui furent tant viriles  
Que pour estre *in subsidio*  
Sont des mors tumbés aux vigiles;

*Gloria patri  
et filio*

<sup>10</sup> For a list of them, cf. Ch. Oulmont, *Pierre Gringore* (214-228), and *Romania* (VII, 263).

<sup>11</sup> Listed in F. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs de Poésie du 16e Siècle* (p. 215).

<sup>12</sup> Not in Méon, but is found in J. Stecher, *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges* (III, 407-409).

<sup>13</sup> Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Except in three stanzas, the last word of the 6th line is invariably in Latin.

Mais leurs louables faitz agiles  
 Immortelz seront *pro tanto*,  
 Car aux humains sont non exiles  
 ET SPIRITUI SANCTO"

*Et spiritui  
 sancto*

The poem contains satirical thrusts at Burgundy, Spain and Charles V but is really more singular for its curious mixture of French and Latin and its odd rhyming than for its contents, though possibly a historian would find food for thought in some of the allusions. E. g.:

"Bourgoigne estoit mal apointée,  
 Mais sa bourse elle deslia  
 Pour prendre argent a la pipée:  
 L'Espagne estoit toute affamée  
 Par quoy prisonniers ne tua,<sup>15</sup>  
 Mais en print becquée et lipée  
 O Dieu! c'est voulenté TUA."

The lexicologist also might glean some curious wheat from this chaff. At least, I do not find in any dictionary the word "testation"; or "ramina grobis" with the meaning of "flattery";<sup>16</sup> or the word "mamelus." Of course, "testation" means "witness", but the word "mamelus" seems to be an anomaly. It has nothing to do with "mamelles". Does it mean "Mamelukes?" Here is the passage in which it occurs:

"Mamelus seront quoy qui tarde,  
 De Dieu pugnis et ruez jus  
 Maulgré tous oyseaulx et lesarde  
 Et maulgré POTESTAS EJUS."

The author of this poem is not known but the mystery may be solved if his devise, "Ung peu tousjours, Parum semper", is ever identified.

The *Blazon des Hérétiques* (1524) by Gringore<sup>17</sup> is the first *blazon* inspired by religious ardor and devoted to the struggle between Protestants and Catholics. Prof. Guy (*l. c.*) gives an admirable analysis of this long poem which I venture to reproduce: "Le Blazon des Hérétiques se divise en deux parties, l'une niaisement savante, l'autre brutalement injurieuse. L'auteur énumère d'abord — depuis Simon le magicien jusqu'à l'homme 'plain de vice' appelé 'Adamitarum' et en passant par Mahomet, 'enchanteur et prince des larrons', — tous les hérétiques connus (ou inconnus). Chose notable: renseigné sur ceux qui n'existeraient, il commet maintes bevue au sujet des plus illustres, et leur prête, . . . des doctrines qu'ils n'ont pas eues. Ces personnages

<sup>15</sup> Ambroise Paré records that, at the battle of Terouenne in 1553, two Spaniards captured a Frenchman, a certain Sieur de Baugé, who tried to pass himself off as a commoner. But Vaudeville, governor of Gravelines, suspecting him to be a person of rank, caused his socks to be removed, and seeing his feet were clean, his suspicions were confirmed. He forced the soldiers to sell Baugé to him for 15 crowns, and then demanded 1,500 crowns ransom. But Mary, Queen of Hungary, heard of it, made Vaudeville give the captive to her (for nothing) and demanded 20,000 crowns ransom.

<sup>16</sup> The best discussion of this word is found in A. Lefranc's edition of *Le Tiers Livre* of Rabelais (p. 163) and *Œuvres* of La Fontaine (Ed. des Grands Ecrivains, II, 187). Huguet's excellent *Dictionnaire du 16<sup>e</sup> Siècle* is still at the letter "E".

<sup>17</sup> The *Blazon* occupies the last 45 pages of Vol. I of the Elzev. edition of the *Œuvres* of Gringore. It is not in Méon.

qu'il ignore, il les exècre de confiance, les jette à l'enfer en un seul tas, et, loin de se douter qu'ils furent le plus souvent . . . des prophètes, des ascètes, des martyrs, il leur suppose une même intention: la recherche du 'prouffit particulier' et de la gloire . . . cette liste de gens, qui, Dieu merci, furent brûlés en grand nombre pour avoir répandu les 'novalités', n'a été dressé qu'afin d'aboutir à la conclusion qui voici: encore qu'ils aient été 'abominables', tous les hérétiques d'autrefois, autant qu'il y en a, paraissent des modèles d'innocence, si on les compare au dernier venu, au monstre qui viole les plus respectables dogmes, bref, à Martin Luther, cet antéchrist. Nul mot est assez fort pour flétrir cet homme qui supprime les *Salve Regina*, autorise le mariage des prêtres, et permet de manger gras le vendredi".

Prof. Guy describes the poem adequately and exactly. It should be said, however, that Gringore took the first part of his *blason* from the historian Orosius, and reproduces the inaccuracies of the latter. But the whole poem is quite soporific, unredeemed by any particularly vivid touches.

Gringore had done much better in 1521 when he rhymed the *Blason de la Paix et de la Guerre*. It is one of his more agreeable pieces, and, also, one of the most characteristic, both of the author and of the whole bourgeois literature of the first years of the 16th century, for it displays a predilection for homely things, a taste for politics, a love of exhortation, an appeal to common sense and to religious ideas — in short, all the features of the genre at that period.<sup>18</sup>

The poet begins by praising the piping times of peace — trade increases, peasants and city-dwellers are well-off, everywhere one sees "plaisir et lyesse." Piety and humanity march triumphantly hand in hand, arts and the "mécaniques mestiers" flourish and there is plenty for all.

"Les anciens et vieulx tiennent propos

Du temps passé, buvans vins à pleins potz",

says Gringore, but when War comes — then, alas! all is changed. With some spirit he paints the reverse of the idyllic times he has just depicted and tries to persuade the reader that the "peines et ennuitz" of a soldier's life should be avoided. Our earthly life is too short as it is, to be used up in warfare. He concludes that we should make war only on our vices and sins, thus following the example of Jesus.

The last *blason* of our first period is the *Blason du Mois de May* of Gilles Corrozet, generally agreed to have been published about 1530. Méon could not find a copy of it, so it does not figure in his collection, but it does exist at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is 14 pages long and is a quite innocuous and banal composition setting forth the natural beauties and human activities common to the month of May.

Before 1530 we find less than a score of *blasons*. Between 1530 and 1580 we find more than 250. How do we account for such a sudden flare? The answer may be found in our next section.

<sup>18</sup> This *blason* is not in Méon. It appeared first in 1521 in Gringore's *Menus Propos* and was reprinted by Brachet, *Morceaux choisis du 16e Siècle* (p. 3), and by E. Crépet, *Les Poètes français* (I, 526). The *Menus Propos* have never been reprinted, although in the second volume of the Elzev. edition of the *Œuvres* of Gringore, the editors announce that a third and final volume is "sous presse". M. Oulmont in 1911 (*op. cit.*, p. xxx) seems to announce a definitive edition of all of Gringore's works, but it has not yet appeared.

## II

This part will deal with the *Blasons Anatomiques du Corps Femenin*. They have been discussed (though never in their entirety) by a great many writers. J. Vianey, I think, is the first scholar to mention the Italian influence.<sup>19</sup> The *Blasons Anatomiques* are treated by H. Guy, by E. Picot, by A. Tilley,<sup>20</sup> in fact, by all the various writers of monographs on the minor poets of the period who composed these frivolous pieces. M. Frédéric Lachèvre gives us information about them<sup>21</sup> that is not to be found elsewhere; Paul Lacroix devotes some interesting pages to them;<sup>22</sup> while the latest (and by far the best from a bibliographical viewpoint) study is in the preface of the Bibliophile B\*\* G\*\*'s private edition (1931).

The first of the celebrated *Blasons Anatomiques* is the *Blason du Beau Tetin*, composed in 1535 by Clément Marot at the Court of Renée de Ferrare where he held the position of Secretary to Renée. Marot, of course, must have known the early French *blasons* but it can hardly be doubted that he was inspired to write the poem on the "beau tetin" from reading the works of the Italian *strambottisti*, especially the two long *Capitoli* by Olympe da Sassoferrato in praise of the lovely breasts of Madonna Pegasea.

Marot's poem, an inimitable masterpiece of elegant badinage, of delicacy, of gallantry, met with huge success. It travelled north in MS and immediately became known in France, where a number of authors started to compose similar pieces.

Seven poets wrote nine *blasons*<sup>23</sup> which were sent to Marot at Ferrara, where the Duchess Renée and her ladies judged the best one to be the *Blason du Sourcil* by Maurice Scève. In February, 1536, Marot wrote an *Épître* addressed "A Ceulx qui, après l'Épigramme du Beau Tetin en Feirent d'Autres", in which he asked the poets to compose *contreblasons*, and he sent them his *Blason du Laid Tetin* as a model.

Meanwhile, the first pieces which Marot had received at Ferrara appeared in print, being attached as a suite to the 4th edition of the *Hécatomphile* of Léon-Battista Alberti. This first edition of the *Blasons Anatomiques* included all the *blasons* mentioned in the preceding footnote (except the *Blason du Cœur*) plus four others: the *Blason du Tetin* by Marot, and three anonymous pieces on *Le Nez*, *L'Esprit*, and *Monsieur le Q*.

As for the *Contreblasons*, in the manner of the *Blason du Laid Tetin*, we have almost none at all,<sup>24</sup> except those due to the ingenuity of Charles de la Huetterie, which appeared in his *Protologies françoises* (1536). "Huetterie", writes d'Héricault (*l. c.*), "voulait venger l'esprit contre la matière, et là encore la matière l'emporta. L'intention de la Huetterie étoit honnête, mais il n'y eut de louable dans ses efforts que l'intention, de remarquable que le nombre

<sup>19</sup> J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 49-50.

<sup>20</sup> H. Guy, *Marot et son Ecole*; E. Picot, *Les Français italianisants*, I; A. Tilley, *loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> F. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> P. Lacroix, *Recherches bibliographiques*, 144 sq.

<sup>23</sup> Jean de Vauzelles "blasonné" the Hair; Antoine Héroet, the Eye; Maurice Scève, the Eyebrow and the Tear; Victor Brodeau, the Mouth; Gabriel Chappuy, the Hand; Le Lieur, the Thigh; and a poet who signed himself, Albert le Grand, the Ear and the Heart.

<sup>24</sup> Jacques Péletier du Mans wrote a *Contreblason du Cœur*, and the Bordelais, Jehan Rus, the *Contreblason du Nez*. The first may be read in Méon, and the second is in Lachèvre, *op. cit.*

et la longueur de ses pièces. Cela étoit insuffisant pour lutter contre Marot, contre la mode, contre l'instinct de l'époque, contre la Renaissance en un mot."

In that last sentence, d'Héricault calls attention to a quality of the *Blasons Anatomiques* that no other writer has recognized, namely, that these little poems, several of them of a most indelicate nature, are a splendid example of the spirit of the Renaissance — the liberating spirit typified by the pagan Ronsard and by Rabelais. It is a commonplace to say that Rabelais incarnates the spirit of revolt against the old scholastic dogma that would vilify the body, but the *Blasons Anatomiques* offer an excellent corollary to Rabelais in that revolt. They glorified the flesh as it had never been done before, and against that glorification Huetterie fulminated in vain.

He set forth his reactionary ideas in an *Epistre à François Sagon* which prefaces his *Contreblasons*, but such ideas were out of date and failed to meet with popular approval. Huetterie enclosed, with this *Epistre*, a number of his pious poems; and Sagon replied in a long epistle, encouraging "ami Charles" to continue to chastise the "sot blason" with his poetic counterblasts. Thus encouraged, Charles' Muse gave birth to no less than 18 *contreblasons*, in which he hurled his rhymed missiles at the poor trembling members but lately so highly praised by Marot's followers. Many of these *blasons* of Huetterie are amusing, if one does not mind somewhat heavy humor. The *Contreblason de la Cuisse*, or especially the *Contreblason du Tetin*, if read in conjunction with Marot's famous poem, can scarcely fail to arouse the reader's mirth.

It has been the fashion among modern scholars who have touched upon the *Blasons Anatomiques* to be very severe on their alleged immorality. But it is an old axiom that a work should not be judged in that respect except by the standards of its own epoch, and in this connection it is perhaps well to remember the closing words of the preface of the last editor of these poems: "... les Blasons ont été dédiés à une princesse célèbre pour son austérité: ils ont été publiés dix fois au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et jamais sous le manteau; enfin ils ont pour auteurs deux évêques, un prêtre, un chanoine et un pasteur vaudois."

However, the utter lack of respect of some of the poets for the most secret portions of Milady's charming person (not counting the *contreblasons*) led to criticism. An anonymous defender of the fair sex and of decency published a *Blason des Blasonneurs des Membres féminins*, which has not come down to us but which began with these two lines:

"Déportez-vous, ô glorieux Folastres  
Déportez-vous, dis-je, vains idolastres."

The worthy polygraph, Gilles Corrozet also took the joyous *blasonneurs* to task in a *Blason contre les Blasonneurs des Membres*. These poems are important as showing a reaction of public opinion against the *blasonneurs*.

The bibliography of the *Blasons Anatomiques* has taxed the ingenuity of eminent French scholars and bibliophiles during the last 70 years, but no definitive results were reached until the most recent editor undertook extensive researches and incorporated his findings in the preface of his privately printed edition of 100 copies.

Not one copy of this edition, printed for the "Parallèles",<sup>25</sup> was "mis en commerce". In view of this fact and also because there remain today but one

<sup>25</sup> A sort of society or club composed of lawyers and physicians.



or two copies of many of the 16th-century editions of the *Blasons Anatomiques*, and these copies are to be found only in private libraries inaccessible not only to the public but to *bona fide* scholars, I think it proper to give here at least a very brief summary of what the Bibliophile B\*\* G\*\* has to say on the subject.

He demonstrates that the *Blasons Anatomiques* had 10 editions in the 16th century. The first one we have already described above. This was in 1536, *sans lieu*. A different edition, likewise appended to the *Hécatomphile* and also *sans lieu*, appeared the same year. Again in 1536, François Juste of Lyons put out an edition entitled *Blasons Anatomiques des Parties du Corps féminin*, and in 1537 the same editor brought out another edition of the *Hécatomphile* plus the *Blasons Anatomiques*.

The first edition, which represents the second stage of the *Blasons Anatomiques*, appeared in 1539 (Paris, chez Pierre sergent). To 9<sup>26</sup> blasons of the first edition were added 13 new pieces: two by Maurice Scève (called "Saene"): *Le Front* and *La Gorge*; two by Lancelot de Carle (called "Charles"): *Le Genoïl* et *L'Esprit*; one signed "Albert le Grand": *Le Cœur*; and 8 anonymous pieces: *Le Ventre*, *Le Pied*, *Le C. N.*, *Le Cul* (which is by François de Bouvret, *doyen de Roye*), *L'Honneur*, *La Description de Grace*, *La Grace*, *Le Souspir* (which is by Maurice Scève). This volume was reprinted in 1540 by Alan Lotrian (Paris).

In 1543 appeared what we may regard as the definitive edition of the *Blasons Anatomiques* (Paris, chez Charles Langelier). Here we find the 22 blasons of 1539 and 16 new pieces, viz.:<sup>27</sup> 12 signed pieces: *La Dent*, by "l'Esclave fortuné" (Michel d'Amboise); *La Joue*, *La Langue*, *Le Nez*, *La Dent*, *Le C. l.*, *Le Pet* and *La Voix*, by Eustorg de Beaulieu ("déjà publiés dans les *Divers Rapportz de 1537*"); *Le C. N.*, by Bochetel; *Le Pied* and *La Grace*, by Sagon; *La Mort*, by Jean de Vauzelles; and 4 anonymous pieces: *Le C. N. de la Pucelle*, *Le Corp* and "deux pièces d'Eustorg de Beaulieu empruntées aux *Divers Rapportz*" (*La Responce du Blasonneur* and *L'Excuse du Corps pudique*). In 1550 l'Angelier reprinted this volume. In 1554 Nicolas Chrestien made a 9th edition, based on those of 1543 and 1550, and, finally, about 1570, came the 10th and last, brought out by the Veuve Jean Bonfons.

With the exception of Marot's poem on the *Beau Tetin*, the 17th century seems to have completely forgotten the so oft reprinted *Blasons Anatomiques du Corps Féminin*. In the 18th century (1731), Lenglet-Dufresnoy gave a new edition of the works of Marot, to the 3rd volume of which he appended most of the *Blasons Anatomiques* and *Contreblasons*. In 1807 Méon published his *Blasons, Poésies anciennes des XVe et XVIe Siècles extraites de différents auteurs imprimés et manuscrits* (reprinted in 1809 with a glossary). In the unexpurgated copies of this volume, pages 53-64 are "cartonnés".<sup>28</sup> These pages contain several rather free blasons and were thus printed double by order of the police before they would let the book be sold. It is a vast compilation, but unbelievably faulty as to text, and thrown together without any method or taste. It is apparent that Méon often failed to understand the sense of these

<sup>26</sup> The three anonymous blasons mentioned on p. 14 appear only in the first edition of the *Blasons Anatomiques*.

<sup>27</sup> To this and to later editions were appended the *Contreblasons* of Huettierie.

<sup>28</sup> There is an interesting and not very common book by G. Brunet entitled *Les Livres Cartonnés*. Méon's volume is described in it.



poems that he edited so carelessly; and, even though he gives the name of the author of each poem, his attributions are often incorrect.

The *Blasons Anatomiques* were reprinted<sup>20</sup> by Lacroix in 1866 for Gay, at Amsterdam. There is a copy in the "Hell" collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It contains the *contreblasons* and a supplement of 10 stray *blasons* unearthed by the editor. Lacroix followed the edition of 1550. Van Bever, in 1907, contented himself with following Lacroix's edition, saying it was definitive as to text. He did not include the *contreblasons* but he did give a brief biographical notice on each author. The plan adopted by Méon of signing his edition with his initials only, which was followed by Lacroix (he signed simply a small cross) and by Van Bever, evidently appealed to the bibliophile B\*\* G\*\* in 1931. B\*\* G\*\* did not, however, consider the editions of his predecessors as definitive. He writes (p. xii): "Elles reproduisent servilement le texte de 1550 ou celui de 1554, et comme les éditions anciennes fourmillent d'erreurs et de coquilles, les réimpressions collectionnent les vers faux ou incompréhensibles; parfois même il y manque des vers entiers. Nous avons établi notre texte sur l'édition de 1543, nous référant aux éditions de 1536, de 1539 et de 1550 chaque fois qu'un vers était douteux . . . On nous avait conseillé d'augmenter ce volume de sept pièces composées entre 1540 et 1550, et que n'avaient recueillies les éditeurs des blasons: *le Nombril* par Bonaventure Despériers, *le Coeur* par Jacques Péletier du Mans (1547), *l'Oeil* et *les Cheveux Coupés* par Mellin de Saint-Gelais, *la Beauté d'une Dame* par Etienne Forcadel (1548), *l'Ongle* par Gilles d'Aurigny et *le Bras* par Jomet Gareil d'Apt. Mais nous avons préféré laisser intact le petit monument que les poètes de 1536 levèrent à la beauté des dames . . . ou à la gloire de Dieu, qui fit l'homme, et la femme, à son image." B\*\* G\*\*'s edition, which includes biographical notices, but not the *contreblasons*, is a fine, scholarly piece of work. It contains attractive *vignettes* of each member treated — *les Cheveux*, *la Joue*, etc.

The custom of composing *Blasons Anatomiques* had one resurgence in the 19th century which we should not neglect to mention. In the *Catalogue de Vente* of the library of M. Auvillain (1865), we find listed these two manuscripts: "# 1834. *Pandore ou Blasons du Corps Féminin*, 'Lemnos', 1808, 2 vols., in-4, d.-rel.; # 1838. *Additions au Blason des Fleurs*, 1815, d.-rel."

What these *Blasons* may be and what has become of them is a mystery. Their purchasers (a M. Bégie of the first and a M. Pontal of the second) were probably book-dealers, but neither the learned M. de Ricci nor the columns of the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et des Curieux* have succeeded in throwing any light on the matter.

In 1897 G. Martin, in his *Les Poésies fantaisistes* (p. 90 sq.) has a number of little poems in praise of various portions of the female body, but they in no way resemble the 16th-century blasons.

This ends our discussion of the purely anatomical blasons, but it seems proper to include here a few pieces which continue the tradition of "blasonning" things feminine begun by Pierre Danché with his *Blason de la Belle Fille*.

With the exception of Forcadel's *Blason de la Beauté d'une Dame*, Méon has all the 7 *blasons* omitted by B\*\* G\*\*. Of these seven, we call attention

<sup>20</sup> An edition of 104 copies only.

to the one on the *Nombril* as containing Despériers' ideas on cosmology (he goes back even before the Garden of Eden for his material) and to the one on the Finger-Nail, "chef d'œuvre de nature", for the entertaining bits of information it contains, as:

"Quand la belle est de grand loisir,  
Elle le rongne à son plaisir.  
Elle le pollist et le farde . . ."

In short, there is nothing new under the sun; modern women who paint their nails had their prototypes at least 300 years ago.

The anonymous *Blason de la Femme*, a shameful indictment of the fair sex apparently inspired by the *Droits Nouveaux* of Coquillart, contains the following curious note on feminine coquetry:

"Femme, qui es tous les matins  
Une heure à dresser tes tetins,  
Et d'un fer blanc, ou d'une charte  
Faites que l'un de l'autre s'escarte . . ."

In truth the ladies of the 16th century did take great pains with their gorge. In the *Blason des Dames selon le Pays* by Forcadel,<sup>30</sup> we read:

"Crainte nous faict porter face couverte  
Mais la poitrine est nue et decouverte."

In this *blason*, after enumerating the characteristics of ladies of different countries — a rather delicate task to perform without arousing the ire of any of the interested parties — Forcadel gives the palm to the "Françoise", although he has kind words for all except the lady from Geneva.

Rabelais did not scorn the *blason*. He composed two: *Deux Epistres, A Deux Vieilles de Differentes Mœurs: Epistre à la Première Vieille & Epistre à la Seconde Vieille, D'Une Aultre Humeur*.<sup>31</sup> They are quite orthodox in form and content, and in the taste we would expect. The first old lady is treated as Marot treated the *Beau Tetin*, and the second one contrariwise.

Maclou de la Haye in *Les Cinq Blasons des Cinq Contentemens en Amour* follows the Italian poets. The five *Contentemens* are: *Regard ardent, cruel meurtrier de l'ame; Ouye assise au chef de la beauté; Ris, où d'amour les rudes traitz benins . . . ; Voix angélique, harmonie des cieux; and Embrassement ou beureuse accolée*. The first four are in the worst style of the Italian *concetti*-manufacturers, but the last one contains some quite gracious comparisons and figures.

I mention here the *blason* of the Pin, of the Ring, of the Mirror (the Mirror, especially, had been exhaustively treated by the Italians), since all these are "blasonned" only as the poet conceives their relation to his mistress. They are full of extravagant images and similes. Jean Rus wrote a gracious *Blason de la Rose* which may be read on p. 39 of his *Œuvres*, reprinted in 1875. Although the *blason* of Péletier is of 1547 and the tireless Forcadel took up his pen again in 1548 to compose another, the business of writing anatomical *blasons* had by then practically died a natural death. The poets had been forced to quit

<sup>30</sup> Méon and d'Héricault ascribe this *blason* to Forcadel, and it does appear in a volume of his poems entitled *Le Chant des Seraines* (1548). M. Lachèvre (o. c., p. 143) ingeniously reasons that the *blason* is anonymous.

<sup>31</sup> These are not in Méon, but are found in Le Duchat's edition of Rabelais (1741), Tome I, pp. 336-339.

for lack of subject-matter. The *blason* of the Foot "enrichy de cinq orteilz divers", about exhausted the possibilities. The genre degenerated into *blasons* of toilet-articles and, as we shall see in our next section, into *blasons* of household furniture.

### III

It has been suggested that the *Blasons Domestiques* of Gilles Corrozet (1539) did more to cure poets of writing anatomical *blasons* than did Corrozet's indignant *Blason contre les Blasonneurs des Membres*. It is to be doubted, however, if either one had anything to do with the decline in the genre, for, in the first place, the poets kept right on for several years and, in the second place, they were finally compelled to quit for lack of material.

Corrozet may have been inspired to compose these *blasons* through professional jealousy (we remember he had written a *Blason du Mois de May*) or he may have wished only to show the immodest anatomists that the *blason* could deal with less scabrous subjects. Be that as it may, he published this collection, and posterity is grateful to him; not for having dealt a death-blow to the *Blasons Anatomiques*, but for having given us such intimate glimpses into the private life of the ordinary citizen of the Renaissance, and for having inserted in his book woodcuts to accompany each *blason*.

The *Blasons Domestiques* may be read in Méon or in Montaignon (VI, 223-285) and were reprinted separately in 1865. The full title is *Les Blasons Domestiques contenant la Decoration d'une Maison bonnestee et du Mesnage estant en icelle: Invention joyeuse et moderne*. It is an interesting book, especially for the student of manners. Of particular historical value are the 16th-century wood-cuts which faithfully reproduce the objects that, at the time of Francis I, constituted the furnishings of a well-to-do bourgeois home. In many cases these wood-cuts are necessary to understand the exact nature of the object discussed; for while the name has remained in modern French, it often happens that the object has greatly changed. These "ymaiges" introduce us directly into the private life of the times, and the *blasons* describing them are often quite gracious little poems.

The *Blasons Domestiques* are 23 in number. Corrozet treats everything from the "Maison" itself, its "Cour" and "Jardin", to each room, omitting not even the "Grenier" nor the "Chambre Secrète", and then he takes up the articles of furniture in each room, from the "Miroir" to the "Banc", from the Arm-Chair to the Whisk-Broom.

We learn that a house should face the East, in order to get the first rays of the sun, that it should be built of stone "de taille ou de liais", that it should have a symmetrical garden, full of flowers and fruit trees, that the front yard should be paved, decorated with statues and "médaillons" and contain a well.

Inside the house, each room is described in detail. The *blason* of the kitchen seems to have been composed with special affection. The whole "batterie de cuisine" is enumerated and, also, a great number of eatables. The *blason* of the Cellar informs us that nothing but wine is kept in it. (Potatoes of course were unknown and apparently no other vegetables were kept there, or Corrozet, with his love of minute detail, would have included them). But the wines, they

"... rendent la place embasmée  
De leur odeur et grand fumée,  
Voire si forte et violente,  
Qu'elle estaint la chandelle ardante,  
Et sans bouger hors du tonneau,  
Enyvrant ung foible cerveau;  
Léans les void-on escumer  
Et bouillir ainsi que la mer,  
Et rompent les vaisseaulx souvent  
Sy on ne leur donne du vent."

The living-room is strewn with fresh and odoriferous grasses or reeds, and hung with tapestries representing scenes from the chase, from the *Bible*, from history, or love scenes. The "chaire" (an arm-chair, as is seen in the wood-cut, and not a "chaise"), was used also as a wardrobe to put linen in. The "Etruy de Chambre" contains feminine toilet-articles, in which it does not differ much from the "Cabinet",<sup>32</sup> where, we learn, ladies of the time perfumed their gloves. The "Verge à Nectoir" is a whisk-broom, made of "flexible brière" and is used only to brush clothes. The wood-cut accompanying the *blason* of the "Scabelle" shows that this article was like neither the modern "tabouret" nor "escabeau", but was a three-legged stool made to hold one person. Likewise the wood-cut for the "Dressouer" represents not a set of shelves, as we would expect, but a sort of small buffet, with doors opening on hinges.

Anyone who imagines the 16th century to have been lacking in creature-comforts may revise his opinion after reading the *blason* of the Bed, for here the poet apostrophizes that article as follows:

"Lict délicat, doux et mollet  
Lict de duvet si très-douillet,  
Lict de plume tant bonne et fine  
Lict d'un coustel blanc comme ung cigne;  
Lict dont ce blanc coustil incite  
Le dormir quand il est licite,  
Lict dont les draps (comme on demande)  
Sentent la rose et la lavende." (the only place I have seen  
this mentioned);

"Beau lict encourtiné de soye  
Pour musser la clarté qui nuist." (and not, then, to avoid  
draughts);

"Lict soustenu en une couche (*bedstead*)  
Ouvrée de menuiserie,  
D'images et marqueterie . . ."

In short, the *Blasons Domestiques* are the work of a bourgeois poet and devoted to bourgeois subjects and are neither prudish nor licentious. The best I can say of them in closing is that they have justly received naught but praise from all later critics.

In the next and final section I shall discuss the rest of the 16th-century *blasons* that seem to offer some particular interest. These deal with medicine,

<sup>32</sup> Not a massive cupboard, as it became after 1600, but a sort of wooden toilet-case.

flowers, birds, jewels, religious hatred, feminine styles, whiskers, geography and fleas.

## IV

The *Blason du Gobellet* (the chalice) and the *Blason du Platellet* (the communion plate)<sup>33</sup> are two satires on certain ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. Written in 1562, probably by Protestants at Lyons, they offer a striking expression of the religious passion that throughout the 16th century formed the most violent element of the internal discords of France. The whole of the two poems is a surprisingly tolerant exposé of the sentiments of the heretics concerning the veneration accorded to "crockery" and "images" by the Catholics. The authors, after poking fun at the miraculous powers attributed to these dishes by their unheretical brethren, prophesy that henceforth they will be regarded as no different from any other useful drinking-mug or dinner plate.

The *Blason du Bonnet Carré*<sup>34</sup> does not appear in Méon's collection, but may be read in Montaignon (I, 265-74), who established his text from both early editions. Under the title *La Composition et Vertus du Bonnet Carré*, the same piece is found, more complete and with rather important variants, in E. Tricotel's *Variétés bibliographiques* (79-89). Tricotel, who follows a MS copy in the fonds Bouhier, no. 113, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, remarks that, in this copy, the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes is carefully observed, — an alternation entirely lacking in Montaignon's edition. The *blason* has nothing to do with clothes, as its title might lead one to suspect, but is a satire on legal corruption. According to the poem, the "Bonnet Carré" is Lucifer's crowning contribution to the woes of mankind. Montaignon says that the *blason* is directed as much against the churchmen as it is against the bar, but I have so far failed to see his reasons for the statement.

In 1533 Pierre Grosnet rhymed *blasons* of various French cities: Paris, Orléans, Tours, Sens, Amiens, Lyon, Angiers, Nantes, Dijon, Dieppe, which appeared in the *Second Volume des Motz Dorez du grand et saige Catbon*. They possess historical and geographical value. For example, in the *Blason de Dyjon*, we are informed about the fortifications, the gates, the orphan asylums, the hospitals, the principal streets, and learn that many things which are true today were so 300 years ago. As:

"Les habitans sont gens humains  
Bons, riches et courtoys du moins."

and

"Si j'ay oublié la moustarde,  
Néanmoins aux bancquetz ne tarde,  
On l'appelle par excellence  
Meilleure moustarde de France."

There are other "geographical" *blasons* — the *Blazon de la Cosse*, by Jehan le Blond, and the *Blason de Brou*, a formidable composition by Antoine du Saix

<sup>33</sup> Not in Méon, but are in Montaignon (Vol. XIII, 345-354).

<sup>34</sup> First edition in 1576. Was reprinted in 1578 under the title *Légende et Description du Bonnet Carré*, and at least four times in the 19th century.



on the church at Brou in Beauce, erected by Marguerite de Bourgogne in honor of her dead husband, but the less said of these the better.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the most remarkable of the *blasons* are those devoted to styles. These were very popular and were reprinted time and again during the 16th century. The careful reader will discover hidden beneath their seeming frivolity many interesting details on the private habits of the citizen of the Renaissance. Throughout the 16th century the moralists and satirists were continually decrying the superfluity and indecency of women's clothes. Eloy d'Amerval in his *Livre de la Deablerie*, Gringore, and a score of others have left us their rhymed complaints against the rising tide of "luxe". The *Blason des Basquines et Vertugalles* (1551) is the best-known poem we possess in this line. It enjoyed four editions between 1551-1563 and was reprinted five times in the 19th century. By perusing it and its attendant counter-blasts,<sup>36</sup> we learn something about the contemporary wiles of feminine coquetry — not to mention the ideas held on the same by the pious authors, who say that these new inventions were worn by the ladies only because it facilitated their lustful pleasures. In the good old days women used to wear tight skirts and so "se rendoient assurées", but alas! those days are gone forever. Lucifer was the inventor of these abominations of which the author describes the various perils so menacing to health and morals. These *basquines* and *vertugalles* will surely cause the damnation of their wearers, warns the poet, and quotes from half the Books of the Bible to prove it. The custom, however, did not abate. By 1579 their use had become so general that they were commonly called by the name of the part they covered or protected. We read in Estienne's *Dialogues* and in the *Satyre Ménippée* that ladies, before they went out, were accustomed to call to their maid-servants: "Apportez-moi mon cul." Charles IX, Henri III and Henri IV fulminated against the *vertugalles* in vain. Henri IV's royal edict against them shows an unbecoming sense of ingratitude, for his life had been saved at the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572 when he hid under the vast hoop-skirt of his wife, Marguerite de Valois, while his enemies sought him throughout the palace.

The *Plaisant Blason de la Teste de Boys* (1554)<sup>37</sup> is concerned with the invention of a wooden head-model on which ladies' coiffures were arranged. The exceedingly complicated coiffures of the times were composed of switches, "rats", and rags bound together by iron hoops called "arcelets". According to our *blasonneur*, the invention of this "Teste de Boys" was a distinct blessing to the ladies as well as to the hair-dressers, for it was very difficult to arrange a coiffure directly upon the head of the client, and, furthermore, the use of moist substances intended to amalgamate the false hair with the real and to make the rags stick, often caused colds and catarrhs, which our "plaisante invention" did away with.

But after the author sums up the benefits resulting from the "Teste", he

<sup>35</sup> Méon has neither of these *blasons*. The first may be read in Montaignon (II, 34), and a copy of the second, reprinted in the 19th century, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>36</sup> *La Complainte de Monsieur le Cul contre les Inventeurs des Vertugalles; Response de la Vertugale au Cul; Débat et Complainte des Meunières à l'encontre des Vertugales, en forme de Dialogues.*

<sup>37</sup> Not in Méon, but in Montaignon (XIII, 53-67).



goes on to tell us that there exist many "resveus, vieillardz et autres rioteux" who do not take kindly to this milestone on the path of progress. They:

"... brocardent ces pouveres dames  
Par infiniz propoz infames,  
Quant ils les voyent sur la teste  
Quelque couvrechief bien honneste,  
Droissé sur la teste de boys.  
Il s'en est trouvé quelque foyz  
Aucun, que nommer je ne veux,  
Qui arracha tous les cheveux  
A son épouse gente et belle,  
Pour ceste coiffure nouvelle  
Et luy défend, ce mal plaisant,  
Non se coifer comme à présent.  
Qui est bien plus, ce malheureux  
Est si cruel et outrageux  
Que pour se venger davantage,  
Il met au feu de bel ouvrage  
Et ne tend par tout qu'à l'esprandre,  
Afin d'en faire de la cendre."

The justly celebrated *Blason des Barbes de Maintenant* (1551) appeared three times in the 16th century and five in the 19th. It provoked the *Response et Contredit d'un Barbu contre le Blasonneur des Barbes* (1551). A monograph could well be written on the "Question de la barbe au 16e siècle". There is considerable literature devoted to it, both serious and facetious, in French and in Latin, and it was a live issue for many years, so much so that often the courts were called upon to decide.

We learn in our *blason* that it was the custom of effeminate "dameretz" to "parer et parfumer leur barbe comme une femme sa perruque"; that a wave of beard-growing had swept over the country — the author enumerates more than two dozen "diverses sortes" of beards; and that even the "hideulx barbaux paysant" had acquired the habit. For he:

"Tort la gueulle et fait la mine.  
Sa barbe est plaine de vermine,  
De morpions, de poux et lentes  
Sans repos, et puces groulantes.  
Mais sans cesser sa barbe frotte;  
Il la desmesle, il la descrotte;  
Il la secoue, puis il la tire;  
Il la retord, puis il la vire;  
Il la resserre, et puis l'espart;  
Chascune main en tient sa part."

The author has some picturesque comparisons:

"Barbe qui ne tient qu'à la lèvre,  
Barbe sautant comme une chèvre,  
Barbe aussi ronde qu'une esclisse,  
Barbe à noc, barbe d'escrevisse,  
Barbe à six poils, et barbe à chat,

Que plust à Dieu qu'on l'arrachast  
Poil à poil à cil qui la porte."

We are informed that priests and bishops have no business

"Comme un souldat estre embarbé."

And in fact there exists a document (1556) concerning no less a person than the renowned architect, Pierre Lescot, granting him permission to become canon of Notre Dame *avec sa barbe*. Our author suggests that all beards be removed by royal edict and used to stuff horse-collars, or be put to even more homely uses. The only exception he makes is in favor of those who have vowed not to shave, as "chartreux, convers, anachorètes."

A sonnet which is found appended to the *Blason des Barbes* is worthy of mention because it clarifies a passage from Molière's *Tartuffe*. Dorine is speaking to Orgon:

"Quoil se peut-il, Monsieur, qu'avec l'air d'homme sage  
Et cette large barbe au milieu du visage,  
Vous soyez assez fou pour vouloir . . . ?" (II, 2, 11; 472-474).

Of course one can take this speech of Dorine at its face value and say that it requires no explanation. However, it has always seemed to me that there was something back of it, something that meant more to Molière's audience than it does to us. My belief is reinforced by the following lines from the sonnet:

"Comme la barbe longue demonstre gravité,  
Délaïsser la mensonge, suivre la vérité,  
Par laquelle on cognoist un homme fort constant . . ."

In short, Dorine's speech is a fragment of an old popular proverb, quite in keeping with her character and station to be sure, and of which the theatre-goers of 1667 doubtless understood the rest as it is found in the above sonnet.

Medicine was not neglected by the *blasonneurs*. In 1547 appeared, bound in one volume, the *Blasons de la Goutte, de l'Honneur et de la Quarte*. Why the author should have inserted that second one between the other two seems rather strange. Much more appropriate would have been the *Blason de la Vérolle*, which is lost. There are several poems of the 16th century entitled *Triomphe de très haute et très puissante dame Vérole*. Perhaps the one published by Hervez in his *Mignons et Courtisanes au XVIe Siècle* is the lost *blason*. All of them are of a burlesque nature, as can be seen by the sub-titles, for example: *Louange de la très-froide, très-chaude, inexorable, très puissante Dame, la Goutte*.<sup>38</sup>

In 1581 appeared *Le Blason des Fleurs, où sont contenuz plusieurs Secrets de Médecine. Dédié à très illustre Princesse, Marguerite de France. Roïne de Navarre* (Paris, C. Nicolas Bonfons). This is an odd little book, composed of 22 pages, with a vignette on the title-page representing a young woman holding a daisy bound about by a ribbon, on which one reads: *Flos, Florum, Flora*. The *blason* of each flower is a piece of advice to young ladies. After these comes the *Blason des Herbes, Arbres et Fleurs*<sup>39</sup> to aid a lover to compose allegorical bouquets. As everyone knows, flowers have a language. A bouquet

<sup>38</sup> This *blason* has nothing to do with the *Eloge de la Goutte* written by Gueudeville in the 18th century.

<sup>39</sup> These last *Blasons* are sometimes found bound with a volume entitled *La Recréation, Devis et Mignardise Amoureuse* (1596).

correctly made up conveyed to the lady the expression of the sentiments of love or of reproach with which the lover's heart was animated.

Jehan de la Taille de Bondarois also wrote some *blasons* of flowers, besides a *blason* of a great number of precious stones, in which he sets forth the medicinal worth and other virtues of various jewels.

Guillaume Guérout,<sup>40</sup> better known for his *Fables* than anything else, composed a long series of *blasons* of birds. These appeared in 1550 in the *Second Livre de la Description des Animaux*<sup>41</sup> and treat some three-score birds, ranging from the Honey-Bee to the Ostrich. They are an important contribution to our knowledge of Renaissance ideas on Natural History but we shall not discuss them here, for, even though entitled *Blasons* by their author, they clearly belong to the genre called *Emblemata*.

We have seen in the preceding pages that the *blason* touched nearly every domain. D'Héricault (l. c.) tells us about one which we have so far overlooked: "Enfin la morale s'avance à son tour pour s'emparer de cette rhétorique, la morale pesamment armée. Au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle on vit le *Blason des Célestes et très Chrétiennes Armes de France* par Jacques de la Motte: à la fin du même siècle les *Blasons Vertueux* de Jean Chartier, et enfin les *Blasons Anagrammatiques très chrétiens et religieux* du Hiéropolitain d'Amiens, Claude de Mons. Ils sont au nombre de 212. Le *Blason* n'y survécut pas."

There are a number of *blasons* I have not mentioned — the *Blason des Couleurs*, the *Blason de la Puce, Ennemye des Pucelles*,<sup>42</sup> the *Blason de la Nuit* and a few other specimens that hardly seem worth discussing. Neither have I spoken of the once famous *Blason des Couleurs en Armes* of the herald, Sicille, nor the *Blason des Danses* by Guillaume Paradin, since both are in prose. The *Blasons Vertueux* are wood-cuts. The too-numerous *Blasons Anagrammatiques* happily do not enter into our category, nor do the poems of Jacques de la Motte. The *blasons* composed in the 17th century are few and dreary. I mention only the *Blason de l'Hymen* by d'Authiel by way of sample.

With a few rare exceptions, as Marot's *Blason du Beau Tetin*, none of the *blasons* is worth anything as poetry. They were rhymed by second-raters, diligent but unimaginative versifiers who could not attain to any originality — at least in this genre. Nevertheless, these little poems are distinctly useful in enabling us to get the full flavor of the period known as the Renaissance. To acquire that flavor, or savor, through a study of the literature of the times, it is necessary to consider those idiosyncratic writings which, because of their very peculiarities and consequent lack of universal appeal, are to be found today only on the dusty shelves of great libraries. It goes without saying that the quality of universal appeal is given to a piece of literature by virtue of the author's rising above the common sense, the peculiar tastes and the illusions of his period. But it is these recorded, naïve illusions that reflect the indigenous characteristics of an age.

The *blasons* of styles, the *blasons domestiques*, the political, moralizing, anatomical and polemic *blasons* contain curious details totally neglected by

<sup>40</sup> Miss Hélène Harvitt in her book on *Eustorg de Beaulieu* (1918, p. 52), announced a work on Guérout in preparation, but I do not believe it has appeared.

<sup>41</sup> This is bound in one volume with the *Premier Livre*, but the latter is by Bart. Aneau.

<sup>42</sup> The *Blason de la Puce* is listed in Lachèvre (*op. cit.*), as being in a volume entitled *L'Esperis Troublé*, but this book does not seem to exist in any public library.

historians but which offer a colorful picture of the ideas and passions that agitated men's minds during the French Renaissance.

ROBERT E. PIKE

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

ETUDES DES RIMES DES RONDEAUX CONTENUS DANS  
LE MS. 402 DE LILLE

**L** E ms. 402 de Lille contient un certain nombre de rondeaux<sup>1</sup> qui ont été attribués aux auteurs suivants: Georges Chastellain (1405?-1475): 345, 475; Henri Baude (1430?-1496?): 252, (253); Octovien de Saint-Gelais (1468-1502): 8, 15, 121, 127, 128, 145, 149, 160, 190, 251, (253), 266, 397, 517; André de la Vigne (†1515?): 284, 461; Jean Picart (†1525): 227, 262, 293, 294, 296, 297, 313, 322; Jean Marot (†1526): 290, 335, 433, 436, 439, 497, 516, 573; Jean d'Autun (1465?-1528): 4. Un rondeau (CCCXXXIX) fut écrit à l'occasion de la mort du comte de Ligny, "... ce bon jour que le Sauveur nasquit."<sup>2</sup>

Le ms. 402 offre donc un ensemble de pièces composées à la fin du XVe siècle ou au commencement du XVIe.<sup>3</sup> Il est intéressant d'étudier les rimes de ces poèmes, car c'est là un moyen qui nous permet de préciser la prononciation de certains mots à la veille de la Renaissance.<sup>4</sup>

-AN : EN— fascemens: amans: encomprens: rendz (XVII); tant: combatant: debattant: regretant: content (CCLXIII); len: berlan (DLXIX).  
-ANCA : ENCA— avanca: commenca: apprensa: enca: ballanca (CII).  
-ANCE : ENCE— puissance: pense: pascience: sciance (XXIII); conscience: plaisance: pense: esperance (XXXIX); puissance: pense: offense (LI); espérance: recompense (LVII); pascience: penitance (LVIII); prudence: puissance: excellence (LXXIII); offense: acointance: recompense: doutance (IIIxxI);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marcel Françon, "Rondeaux d'Amour du XVe Siècle", *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVI, 1934, pp. 68-87.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Guy, *La Poésie française au XVIe Siècle* (I, Paris, 1910, 51); E. Droz, "La Correspondance poétique du Rhétoriqueur Jean Picart, Bailli d'Etelan", *Revue du XVIe Siècle* (VIII, 1921, 58); D. Yabeley, *Jean Lemaire de Belges: La Plainte du Désiré* (Paris, 1932, 19); F. Ed. Schnéegans, "Épîtres en Vers de Jehan Picart, Seigneur d'Estellan et de ses Amis", *Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres de Neuchâtel* (VIII, 1921). Tous ces critiques indiquent que Louis de Luxembourg, comte de Ligny, mourut en décembre 1503. Seul, Ph.-Aug. Becker ("La Vie littéraire à la Cour de Louis XII", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXIII, Helsingfors, 1922, s. 118), donne la date du 31 décembre 1503, sans indiquer les documents qui permettent d'être précis. Il faut remarquer que le rondeau CCCXXXIX se retrouve non seulement dans le ms. "Jean de Saxe" comme les 545 premiers rondeaux du ms. 402; mais aussi dans le ms. fr. 19182 de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Ce dernier ms. est des plus intéressants. Il contient un très grand nombre des rondeaux des mss. 402 et "Jean de Saxe" et il donne le nom de personnages à qui diverses pièces ont été adressées ou par qui elles ont été composées.

<sup>3</sup> On remarquera que les auteurs auxquels on a attribué le plus de pièces contenues dans le ms. 402 sont O. de Saint-Gelais, Jean Marot et Jean Picart.

<sup>4</sup> Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la Langue française* (I, Leipzig, Paris, 1899); H. Chate-lain, *Recherches sur le Vers français au XVe Siècle* (Paris, 1908); Charles Thurot, *De la Prononciation française depuis le Commencement du XVIe Siècle, d'après les Témoignages des Grammairiens* (2 vols., Paris, 1881-1883); F. Brunot, *Histoire de la Langue française des Origines à 1900* (II, Paris, 1906); Ch. Oulmont, *Étude sur la Langue de Pierre Gringore* (Paris, 1911); K. Chesney, *Oeuvres poétiques de Guillaume Cretin* (Paris, 1932); E. Picot et Nyrop, *Nouveau Recueil de Farces françaises des XVe et XVIe Siècles* (Paris, 1880); N. Dupire, *Jean Molinet. La Vie. Les Œuvres* (Paris, 1932).

avance: diligence (IIIIxxIII); sentence: acointanse: enfance: depense: franse (IIIIxxIII); puissance: pense (IIIIxxXVI); conscience: defiance: science: en ce (CV); pense: puissance: assurance (CXXXVI); presence: desplaisance (CLVIII); apparence: demeurence: recompense: pense (CCXVIII); pense: desassurance: recompense: desplaisance: souffrance: fiance: puissance: esperance (CCXLIX); residence: pance: decepvance: offence (CCLXXIV); oultrance: reconnoissance: aparence: ofence: congnoissance (CCCXIII).

ANCÉE : ENCÉE— commencée: avancée (XLIV).

-ENSER : ANCE— penser: recompenser: passer: dansser: commencer: tenser: avancer: laisser (XCIX).

-ANDE : ENDE— demande: rende (CLXXXIII).

-ANDER : ENDER— demander: gourmander: commander: recommander: mander: ramender: marchander: mender (DC).

-ANDIT : ENDIT— estendit: respandit (LXXVII).

-ANDRE : ENDRE— esprendre: espandre (LXXIII); estandre: entendre: actendre (CCII); alexandre: ensendre: rendre: entreprendre: comprendre: prendre: fendre: reprendre (CCCCIII).

-ANGE : ENGE— change: louenge: rege: revenge: estrange: rege: ange: eschange (XII); change: louenge: eschange: estrange: voidange: range: mange: ange (XLVII).

-ANTER : ENTER— exempter: presenter: tourmenter: vanter: contenter (CLXXXV); exenter: hanter: contenter: parlementer: frequenter: venter; chanter: vanter (CCC); contenter: presenter: vanter: venter: regenter: absenter: chanter: mescontenter (CCCXCVI); contenter: hanter: exempter: frequenter (CCLXXV); vanter: contenter: frequenter: exempter: parlementer: tempter: hanter (CCIV).

-ANTE : ENTE—tourmente: plaisante (XXIX); chante: lamente (LXXXVII); cent ay: sante (CCCCXXXIII); exempte: nuisante: vante: contente: sente (CXLVIII); apparante: tourmente (CLXXXIX); oppressante: sente (CLXXXIII); triumpante: avenante: excellente: entente: cinquante: tente: tourmente: apparante (CCXXXIX); attente: rente: dolente: plaisante: seante (CCLXXVIII). — Conclusion: Il semble qu'il n'y ait entre *an* et *en* qu'une distinction graphique (cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 2; et Nyrop, *op. cit.*, I, § 215, 220).

-ANTÉ : AULTÉ: ONTÉ— attalanté: loyauté: esponventé: tanté: surmonté: dompté: ranté: volenté (XLIX). (Cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 4). Il faut, pourtant, remarquer qu'au lieu de *rimes léonines*, il ne peut s'agir que de *rimes riches*.

A : AI— passage: saige: davantaige: courage: dommaige (XLI); page: langage: saige: message: bastelage: ymage: mesnage: partage (CCXIX); heritaige: davantage: partage: sage: personnage: gage: langage: courage (CCLXXXII); hommaige: saige: personnage: courage: davantage (CCCXVI); courage: avantage: langage: raige: volage: age: dommage: sage (CCCXXXII); ommage: langaige: heritaige: cartaige: davantaige: oultrage: couraige: ouvrage (CCCLVII); heritaige: aventaige: couraige: usage: visaige: hommaige: aage: langaige (CCCCXCII); sage: langaige: aventaige: gaige: servaige: couraige: rage: ostage (CCCCXXXIX); oultrage: saige: aage: tesmoignage: ouvrage (D); oultrage: couvaige: lignage: avantage: eage (DXCIII). (Cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 6);



Thurot, (I, 313, 314) cite le passage où Palsgrave déclare — et celui-ci est le seul à le faire — qu'il faut prononcer un *i* entre *a* et *g* dans tous les mots en *age* excepté *rage*. Les autres grammairiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ne mentionnent pas cette prononciation (cf. Nyrop, I, § 199, Rem.).

Remarquons la graphie *raige* (CCCXXXII) et celle du nom propre *cartaige* (cf. Dupire, *op. cit.*, p. 319).

-AI : OI ou E; OI : E— iamais: metx (XXXIV); meffait: deffait: parfait: effect: reffait: forfait: fait: contrefait (CLXXII); infecte: deffaicte: forfaicte: faicte: parfaicte: meffaicte: reffaicte: contrefaicte (CII); iamais: metz: demes: remes: submes: prometz: desormetz (CCXCV); regrete: guete: secrete: souhaite: faicte: fortrete: parfaicte: mete (CCLII); quaquette: brunette: nette: trompette: leguylette: preste: segrette: faicte (DLXXXI); fait: effect (CCCCXXII).— contraire: faire: desplaire: declere: retraire: clere: deffaie: affaire (CCCXX); deffaie: faire: complaire: taire: frere (CCCXXVII); maistresse: possesse: prinssesse: menteresse: vanteresse: lesse: promesse: congnosse (XIII); esse: presse: rudesse: laisse: destresse: tristesse: adresse (XXXV); maistresse: richesse: noblesse: princesse: lesse: pocesse: delaisse: leessee (LIX); noblesse: blesse: gentillesse: laisse: tritresse (LXIII); cesse: promesse: lesse: laisse: finesse: esse: blesse: confesse (CXXX); laisse: paresse: cesse: presse: finesse (CXXXVII); maistresse: princesse: laisse: cesse: messe (CXXXIX); cesse: maistresse: delaisse: confesse: menteresse: finesse: promesse: messe (CXXXXI); plaise: baise: mallaise: courtoise: apaise (CCCLVI); cesse: presse: lesse: rudesse: blesse: baisse: confesse (CLXXXVII); presse: iouesse: laisse: traverse: maistresse: destresse: cesse: tristesse (DXCI).— congnostre: estre: maistre: croistre: naistre: nestre: recongnostre: aparestre (II); submettre: recongnostre: croistre: maistre: demettre: lettre: estre (LXIII); congnostre: maistre: recongnostre: acroistre: estre: mescongnostre: pestre: croistre (XCI); estre: apparoistre: croistre: naistre: fenestre: mettre: maistre: congnostre (CX); apparoistre: estre: congnostre: descroistre: fenestre: mescongnostre: naistre: comparoistre (CXXII); apparoistre: naistre: fenestre: estre: maistre (CXCII); maistre: paroistre: estre: mectre: permectre (CXCIV); congnostre: maistre: aparoistre: naistre: pestre (CCCXXIII); mettre: maistre: remettre: submettre: demettre: entremettre: permettre: estre (CCCCLXXXI); congnostre: apparoistre: paistre: estre: maistre (CCCLXXXIX); mescongnostre: estre: repaistre: congnostre: maistre (CCCXC); estre: congnostre: mettre: acroistre: aparestre: submettre: demettre: maistre (CCCCLXXXI). (Cf. Chatelain, pp. 7-10; Thurot, I, 352-414; Dupire, p. 319; Nyrop, I, § 158, 159).

AI : EI devant *N sonore*— paine: ameine: loingtaine: mainne: certaine: pourmaine: demaine: sepmaine (XVI); peinne: certaine: sepmainne: demaine (demeurer): demainne (domaine) (CCXXIV).

AINDRE : EINDRE— creindre: complandre: estaindre: contraindre: plaindre: atteindre: restraindre: refraindre (XCIII).

AINDRE : OINDRE— plaindre: moindre: enfraindre: craindre: faindre: contraindre: attaindre: estaindre (CXVI).

AINTE : EINTE— estainte: contrainte: plainte: empreinte: painte: crainte: atteinte: fainte (CCLVI).

AINTES : OINTES— plaintes: taintes: complaintes: empreintes: estraintes: iointes: contraintes: faintes (CCLIX).



EU pour U—entendu: en temps deu: attendu (CCCXL); cure: escripture: endure: creature: ouverture: dure: assure (DLXXXIII); demeurer: assureur: durer: endurer: mesurer (CXLII); abuse: acuse: excuse: confuse: euse (LXXVII); deusse: congusse: sceusse: pusse: peusse: eusse: resceusse: fusse (CCLXIII); heure: demeure: sequeure: pleure: labeure: demeure: meure (subst.): meure (XIII); demeure (verbe): demeure (subst.): meure: sceure: aqueure: saveure: heure (XXXI); sequeure: pleure: laveure: aseure: demeure: heure: seure: meure (LXXVIII); heure: sequeuer: demeure (subst.): assure: labeure: sequeure: pleure: desaseure: meure (CCL); demeure: labeure: sequeure: meure: cure: pleure: saveure: seure (CCCLXIII); demeure: heure: meure: meure (subst.): acqueure: labeure: seure: saveure (CCCCVI); demeure: meure (subst.): meure (verbe): labeure: pleure: sequeure: assure: heure (DXCVIII). (Cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16, 17-19, 39-40, 232; Nyrop, *op. cit.*, I, 183).

OU pour U—demeure (verbe): demeure (subst.): laboure (verbe): heure: meilleure: sequeure: meure (CCCXL).

OU pour O—aprouche: atouche: couche: reprouche: bouche (VII). (Cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 19). Notons aussi les rimes suivantes, où il ne faut, peut-être, voir que des *rimes riches*: doubté: costé: osté: bouté: cousté (CXIII).

RIMES NORMANDES: fier (adj.): grefier: verifier: fier (verbe) (XCIII); aymer: mer: blasmer: entasmer: pasmer (CLXIII); blasmer: reclamer: la mer (nom): enflamer: entamer: diffamer: armer: aymer (CCCLXXXVII).—entamer: amer (adj.): aimer: presumer: consumer (CCCCXXXII).

amer (verbe): amer (adj.): estymer: mer (nom): reclamer: nommer: presumer: entamer (DLXXXVI); blasmer: mer (nom): amer (verbe): enflamer: entamer: reclamer: aimer (adj.): diffamer (DXXV); amer (verbe): diffamer: blasmer: amer (adj.): nommer (CCCCXXX); cher (adj.): cher (nom): fascher: macher: secher: atacher: lacher (DXI). (Cf. Brunot, *op. cit.*, II, 271; Nyrop, I, § 172).

IS : INS—pris: espris: repris: entrepris: aprins (CCLIV).

ISE : INSE—entreprise: esprise: desprise: reprise: comprise: aprise: prinse (prendre): prise (priser) (CCCCXCVII).—Il s'agit ici de la graphie *in*; la prononciation était sûrement *i*.

ERME : ARME—ferme: afferme: terme: alerme: arme (CXII); lerne: arme: alerme: enferme: ferme (verbe): afferme: ferme (adj.): terme (CLXII); arme: terme: ferme (adj.): afferme: alerme: enfermé: enferme: lerne (CLXIII); enferme: ferme: terme: arme: lerne: charme: afferme: alerme (CLXVIII); termes: fermes: larmes: chermes (CCCXCIII). (Cf. H. Chatelain, pp. 34-35; Nyrop, I, § 244-247).

L : L mouillé—fille: distille: ville: subtile: anichille: mille: gentille (CCCCXLIII). (Cf. Chatelain, pp. 59-60.—Il s'agit là d'une rime pour l'œil. Cf. Nyrop, I, 352).

R—comprendre: reprendre: entreprendre: apprendre: prendre: surprendre: mesprendre: espandre (LXXIII).

foy: loy: moy: voy: vroy (CCXCIII); dame: ame: ferme: femme: charme (CCCLXX); blasmer: reclamer: la mer: enflamer: entamer: diffamer: armer: aymer (CCCLXXXVII); subiecte: mettre: requeste: debte: souhayte (DXI). Ces rimes semblent indiquer que l'*r* était éteint dans la prononciation soit après *t*, *p*, *v*, soit devant *m* (cf. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-56).

B et P devant L— affoiblie: oublie: ennoblie: publie: acomplie (CXV). (Cf. Chatelain, p. 48).

CONSONNES MÉDIALES C, P, S, B + CONSONNE.— eslie: conduite: quicte: suite (LI); escrips: espris (LIX); lacz: soullas (CCCCXXIII); dire: escripre (LXVII); perilz: esperis (LXXIX); pire: escripre (CXIX); fait: effaict (LXXXII); ame: blasme: femme (CXC VII) (CCLXXIII); doubtes: coustes: toutes (CCXXII); lasche: tache (CCXXX); escriptz: espriz (CCXXIII); ame: pasme: blasme (CI); ame: blasme (CIII); dompte: conte (CLXXXII); doubtes: goutes (CLXXXIII); quicte: mauditte (CXCII); once: derromps ce (CLXXXIII); fashé: attaché (CXCVI); batre: allebastre (XCVII); doute: escoute: goute: desgoute: boute: goust: couste: toute (CCCLI); ame: basme (DLXXIX); exempte: nuyssante: parente (CXLVIII); peché: empesché (CCLXXIII); ceps: excès (CCCLXXX); assome: fentosme (CCCCXXI); toute: couste: doute (CCCCXXXVII); conduitz: deduis (CCCCXXXVII); dompte: conte: prompt: monte (CXVI); doute: goute: toute: couste: boutte: route: reboute (DXCIX).— Les consonnes médiales *c*, *p*, *s*, *b* sont muettes (cf. Chatelain, p. 46; Dupire, p. 321).

LES CONSONNES FINALES TENDENT À S'AMUIR— sens (subst.): consens: descens: sens (verbe): sans (XLI); transis: pensis: rasis: six: assis: acoursis: endursis: adoucis (CCCCXXII); atens: temps: contens: pretens: entens sens (verbe): sens (subst.): presens (CCCCXXXVII); mort: acord (XIX). (Cf. Chatelain, pp. 74-75).

X est simplement graphique et représente *s*: six: assis (CCCCXXII).

LIAISON— fortune: fort une (CCXCIX) (CCCX); cent ay: sante (CCCCXXXIII); asserviray: servir ay (CCCCXXIV); fis on: prison (CLVII). S sonore pour s sourde— grace: pace: glace: face: embrase (CCXCVII). (Cf. Dupire, p. 323). Doit-on rapprocher ce cas du suivant: grace: passe: aymasse: amasse: repose (V)?

E féminin d'un monosyllabe peut rimer avec l'e féminin final d'un polysyllabe: science: en ce (CV); once: romps ce (CLXXIV); puissance: sans ce (CCCCXXX).

Les rimes qui viennent d'être rapportées se remarquent dans les œuvres des Grands Rhétoriciens. On les retrouve chez Molinet, chez Cretin, chez Jean Lemaire de Belges, chez Gringore. Je n'ai pas relevé de rimes qui fussent dues à des influences dialectales. Il est pourtant intéressant de signaler (DLXIX) les rimes croisées: prens: comprens: entreprends: mesprends: reprens: surprins: aprens: d'une part, et le groupe suivant d'autre part: estellan:<sup>5</sup> et tel an: millan: len: berlan, ce qui indique que l's final des formes verbales devait se faire entendre un peu, et que peut-être aussi on distinguait entre *en* et *an* malgré la rime len: berlan, où, d'ailleurs, *len* représente *l'on*. L'assimilation *en*, *on* est reconnue pour un phénomène lorrain (cf. Chatelain, p. 4). Signalons que, dans *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours* (édit. A. de Montaiglon, Paris, 1881),—poème attribué à Martial d'Auvergne—c'est toujours *len* qui se lit. On peut aussi se demander si l'assonance de *an* avec *on* décèle une tendance à la vélarisation "qui ne serait pas étonnante au nord ou nord-est de Liège, aux

<sup>5</sup> Remarquons outre l'allusion au bailli d'Estellan, Jean Picart, la rime *équivoquée*, l'amuissement de l's devant t et la liaison de l avec la voyelle du mot suivant.

frontières du germanique".<sup>6</sup> Puis-je conclure en rappelant les paroles de Charles Oulmont qui, en son étude sur Gringore, déclare qu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle "bien des particularités propres autrefois à tel dialecte, s'étaient étendues . . . à l'ensemble du français"?<sup>7</sup> Il ne semble pas, en tout cas, y avoir trace dans le ms. de Lille de particularités phonétiques dialectales. Bien au contraire, j'ai trouvé la confirmation des remarques générales sur la langue de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et du commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup>.

MARCEL FRANÇON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

### MINIATURES DU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE

LES miniatures que nous allons étudier décorent le traité qui a pour titre "Le Changement de Fortune en toute prospérité". Ce traité fut composé par Michel Riz (Riccio) pour Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie, probablement dans les derniers mois de l'année 1506.

Michel Riz, né vers 1445, fit des études de droit et fut reçu docteur *in utroque jure*. Il était professeur de droit et avocat à Naples avant l'invasion française. Il entra ensuite au service de Charles VIII, puis de Louis XII, composa des ouvrages historiques et semble avoir sollicité l'aide de Marguerite d'Autriche, tante du futur Charles Quint, pour se faire rendre les biens qu'il avait à Naples avant la conquête. Il mourut vers la fin de l'année 1508.<sup>1</sup>

Il existe deux mss. de ce traité: l'un à Paris, le ms. fr. 14940 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, l'autre à Vienne (Autriche), le ms. 2625. Ces deux mss. sont très pareils: même texte (avec des variantes insignifiantes), même nombre de pages et de miniatures.

Cet ouvrage sous forme de dialogue traite de plusieurs questions: 1<sup>o</sup> les vertus qui sont réunies en la personne de Marguerite d'Autriche, — 2<sup>o</sup> les ancêtres de cette princesse et sa vie troublée d'infortunes diverses — 3<sup>o</sup> les raisons qui légitiment l'existence de la Fortune.<sup>2</sup>

Les miniatures qui enluminent ce traité illustrent ces trois parties. Nous ne parlerons ici que des miniatures qui représentent la Fortune et de celles qui figurent les vertus.

On sait que le thème de la Fortune était fort en vogue pendant tout le moyen âge.<sup>3</sup> C'est le *De Consolatione Philosophiae* de Boèce dont on s'inspirait. Maint auteur déplora la toute-puissance, l'inconstance, la cruauté de Fortune dont l'instabilité fut figurée par une roue en mouvement. Les miniatures des

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Cohen, *Mystères et Moralités du Ms. 617 de Chantilly* (Paris, 1920, p. XXIII).

<sup>7</sup> Oulmont, *op. cit.*, II, p. 137.

<sup>1</sup> L. G. Pellissier, "Note italienne sulla storia di Francia", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XXXIX, Firenze, 1907, 435-451; Pierre d'Herbécourt, "Michel Riz, dit l'Avocat de Naples", *Ecole Nationale des Chartes: Positions des Thèses*, Paris, 1929, pp. 135-139; Marcel Françon et Gh. de Boom, "Activité littéraire à la Cour de Marguerite d'Autriche: Michel Riz (Riccio)", *The Modern Language Journal*, XVI, 1931, 249-251. — Cf. Eg. 763: *Additions to the MSS of the British Museum in 1836-1840*, London, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Riz a demandé à Sénèque et à Boèce les exemples et les préceptes qui illustrent sa conception de la Fortune.

<sup>3</sup> H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, Cambridge, 1927; H. I. Siciliano, *Villon et les Thèmes poétiques du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1934. — V. Cioffari, *Fortune and Fate from Democritus to St. Thomas Aquinas*, N. Y., 1935. — Cf. Ramiro Ortiz, *Fortuna Labilis*, Bucharest, 1927.

mss., les sculptures des cathédrales reproduisent ce symbole de la Fortune, mais avec des variantes.

A Amiens, on aperçoit dans la partie haute d'un portail, une demi-roue entourée de dix-sept personnages. Quelquefois, une roue n'a pas suffi, on en a figuré deux; on en a même imaginé jusqu'à sept. Depuis Boèce, c'est Fortune qui tourne la roue. Dans les miniatures que nous reproduisons, Fortune est représentée par une femme qui porte des ailes attachées aux talons. Le ms. de Vienne nous la montre debout sur la jante de la roue qu'elle semble actionner du pied. Dans le ms. de Paris, Fortune est debout sur le moyeu. Tourne-t-elle avec la roue? Il semble, en tout cas, qu'avec la révolution de celle-ci, Fortune monte et descende et qu'ainsi elle puisse élever ou abaisser les hommes.

Souvent dans les images ou dans les sculptures qui représentent la déesse, des êtres humains sont attachés à la circonférence de la roue, ou semblent monter et descendre avec elle. C'est ce qu'on remarque à Amiens, au portail septentrional de Beauvais et à la cathédrale de Bâle.<sup>4</sup>

L'Italie nous fournit aussi de nombreuses figurations de Fortune;<sup>5</sup> on peut admirer, par exemple, dans le livre de d'Ancona, la photographie (Tav. III) qui représente la rosace en forme de roue de l'église San Zeno à Vérone. Cet auteur a reproduit aussi une mosaïque du Museo Civico de Turin, et un ms. de la bibliothèque nationale de Firenze. La miniature de ce ms. nous montre Fortune qui fait tourner la roue en agissant sur les rais de celle-ci. Au haut, est assis un roi, sceptre et globe en mains; puis, en allant de gauche à droite, nous trouvons un homme qui s'agrippe à la roue pour ne pas tomber. Le personnage suivant traîne par terre, et le quatrième est tout espoir, il va atteindre au point le plus élevé du bonheur.

Les mss. de "L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu,"<sup>6</sup> ouvrage composé par Martin le Franc vers 1450, nous fournissent de nombreuses illustrations de Fortune. Le ms. 9510 de Bruxelles représente Dame Fortune, élégante mondaine du XVe siècle, coiffée d'un hennin, vêtue d'une robe rouge. Elle a les yeux bandés, et pose la main droite sur le moyeu de la roue qui se trouve à côté d'elle. Quatre banderoles entourent la roue, sur lesquelles on voit les légendes: *Regno, Regnavi, Sine Regno, Regnabo*.

Au ms. fr. 1150 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, f. 3, à côté de Fortune, se remarque sa roue sur laquelle sont assis ou attachés trois rois. Auprès d'eux se lisent les formules qui indiquent que ces personnages vont régner, règnent ou ont régné. A terre gît un personnage sans couronne. Le ms. 1151, f. 2, nous montre Fortune, les yeux bandés, une petite roue à la main. Le ms. fr. 19126, f. 2 n'apporte rien de nouveau au symbole, ni le ms. de l'Arsenal, N° 5202, avec ses miniatures en frontispice aux livres I et II. La miniature-frontispice du livre III, pourtant, nous fait voir Fortune, couronnée, les yeux bandés. Elle foule à ses pieds Papes, évêques, prêtres et bourgeois. Au haut de la roue, qu'une manivelle fixée au moyeu fait tourner, sont assises trois figures: un Pape, un roi et un troisième personnage, tout habillé de noir.

<sup>4</sup> E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe Siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, p. 118; Raimond Van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art profane*, La Haye, 1932, II, 191.

<sup>5</sup> Paolo d'Ancona, *L'uomo e le sue opere*, Firenze, 1923.

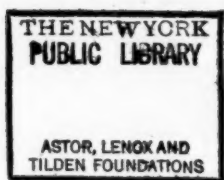
<sup>6</sup> A. Piaget, *Martin le Franc*, Lausanne, 1888; A. Bayot, *L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu*, Bruxelles, 1928.



Le commencement l'adieu.  
 i nous bon sens confidant  
 troyshier seigneur et amir  
 par les amirantes hyssoi  
 re les dames & sault et



pussant estur qui ont eue malheur  
 he nous p'rouverons d'au malsons  
 a leur malheur. La d'ennier pour  
 at quelle ont eu quelque fois prospere

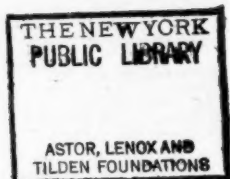




Digne de plusieurs louenges. Veu que comme  
dict franchisque Petrarca n'est chose trop  
commune retrouver beauté et chasteté vint son  
grecement ensembble.



De la vertu de prudence qui est d'avoir  
souvenance de choses passées considé-  
rer présentes et celles qui peuvent advenir  
on se prepare assez a ce parler ma dicté



B. N. (Paris), *Ms. fr.* 14940, f. 13<sup>v</sup>

B. N. (Paris), *Ms. fr.* 14940, f. 15<sup>v</sup>



**E** nous voules aussi parler de Justice  
qui est une constante et perpétuelle so-  
lente de se rendre a chascun ce que son appetit  
et par la quelle vertu la raison est domie de con-



**E** la vertu d'accomptance deu bienuet  
Dacuer Constante et Effiance la  
Romaine seueit merueilleusement dielle  
vertu facies camus plus pour d'auoir for.



Dans le *ms. Condé 1512*, f. 1, Fortune, debout, fait, d'une main posée sur la jante, tourner la roue suspendue à un lourd chassis. Au haut de la roue trône un roi. A gauche, un personnage semble monter, et un autre, à droite, descend; tous deux sont attachés à la roue, ainsi qu'un quatrième qui, au point le plus bas de la roue, est suspendu, la tête à la renverse.

Au f. 3 du *ms. Royal 16 F. IV*, du British Museum, Fortune fait tourner sa roue à laquelle sont attachées plusieurs personnes; mais on n'en voit que trois, car la déesse les cache en partie.

Le *ms.* de la bibliothèque royale de Copenhague, *fonds de Thott*, 311, présente aux ff. 3, 4, 4v, 30v, 42, 121 une Fortune couronnée qui tient à la main une petite roue; celle-ci n'est plus qu'un accessoire. Le f. 69v. de ce même *ms.* se distingue par la présence de plusieurs Papes et évêques qui semblent vouloir saisir les bords de la roue suspendue au dessus d'eux.

S'il n'y a pas à s'arrêter à la miniature du f. 1 du *ms. Français F. X. XV. 6* de Leningrad, la page titre de la deuxième édition de *l'Estrif* (Paris, 1506), faisant partie de la Collection James de Rothschild, nous intéresse par certains caractères nouveaux: il y a, là encore, quatre personnages dont le sort est lié à la course de la roue. Au bas, un homme a été jeté à terre. A droite, un être est lancé dans le vide par la force centrifuge; celui qui monte, à gauche, et celui qui est assis, au haut, sur un trône, sceptre en main, ont un facies bestial et de longues oreilles. Cette figure rappelle la miniature qui se trouve à la dernière page du roman de *Renard le Nouvel*, où Renard trône au sommet de la roue.<sup>7</sup>

Dans le *ms. 2625* de Vienne, nous voyons, sur l'un des feuillets, Fortune debout sur sa roue, en train d'attirer à elle le sceptre royal de France et la couronne qui commence à glisser sur les cheveux de Marguerite d'Autriche représentée sur le feuillet opposé. De chaque côté de cette princesse se trouvent les armes de France et celles de Flandres.

La représentation de Fortune dans le traité de Riz nous paraît ainsi assez originale. Si, d'ailleurs, la miniature du *ms. f. 14940* de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, est assez grossière, il n'en est pas de même du *ms.* de Vienne, provenant de la bibliothèque de Marie de Hongrie. On prend plaisir à regarder les bordures du *ms.*, faites de marguerites, de pensées, de grappes de raisins, de fraises. A ces fleurs et à ces fruits se mêlent les formes plaisantes d'un papillon, de plusieurs oiseaux, d'un escargot. Le tout produit un effet élégant et gracieux. Comme, d'ailleurs, Fortune est figurée dans une scène d'intérieur, on peut aussi voir là quelques détails d'architecture qui témoignent du style de la Renaissance à ses débuts.

\* \* \*

Passons maintenant à l'étude des miniatures qui figurent les vertus cardinales. Les sculptures du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle représentent les vertus sous les traits de femmes graves. Celles-ci ne se distinguent guère, alors, que par le symbole figuré sur l'écu qu'elles portent.<sup>8</sup> A partir du XIV<sup>e</sup>, les images des Vertus sont conçues d'une façon très différente. Une classification nouvelle est imaginée. Les Vertus sont au nombre de sept: trois vertus théologiques et quatre vertus cardinales. Dans la première partie du XVe siècle, les Vertus n'ont pas

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bédier et Hazard, *Histoire de la Littérature française illustrée*, I, Paris, 1923, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, p. 136.

d'attributs très distincts; souvent même, elles se ressemblent tellement qu'on a de la peine à les reconnaître et à les différencier. C'est dans un manuscrit de Rouen<sup>9</sup> qu'apparaissent pour la première fois des représentations caractéristiques des Vertus, et l'on peut dire que c'est vers 1470 que celles-ci commencent d'être figurées avec des emblèmes très distinctifs: "La Justice a la balance et l'épée, la Force arrache le dragon de la tour. La Tempérance tient le plus souvent une horloge . . . la Prudence a un miroir . . ." <sup>10</sup>

Si c'est chez des artistes rouennais que cette conception des Vertus paraît avoir pris naissance, le thème se répandit bientôt non seulement chez les miniaturistes parisiens, mais chez les artistes flamands. Français et Flamands transmirent ce cliché pittoresque en Espagne. En Italie, au contraire, la tradition est bien différente. Les représentations des vertus y sont plus simples et moins chargées d'ornements. Quand l'influence italienne se fait sentir en France, les attributs des Vertus ont souvent un caractère mixte, résultat du mélange des deux inspirations. Les Vertus apparaissent pour la première fois dans un monument funéraire en France au tombeau de Nantes conçu par Jean Perréal et sculpté par Michel Colombe.

Voyons maintenant comment Riz a utilisé le thème des Vertus.

Les exemples dont Riz a illustré la partie de son ouvrage qui s'occupe des vertus sont tirés des *Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*; Riz s'est, d'ailleurs, inspiré aussi de Pétrarque; mais il s'est efforcé de grouper les vertus de Marguerite d'après la classification qui avait été proposée dès le commencement du XVe siècle et accréditée par des livres célèbres comme la *Somme le roi* et le *Livre des Quatre Vertus* attribué à Sénèque. Il passe en revue la tempérance — dont dépendent la piété, la chasteté, la pudicité, la patience, la constance et l'abstinence — la force, la prudence et la justice; il parle aussi de l'humanité et de la gratitude. Les miniatures qui ornent le ms. ne représentent que les quatre vertus cardinales. La Force est une femme armée d'une cuirasse. De sa main droite, elle saisit un dragon par le cou et, de l'autre main, elle tient une tour. La Prudence tient un miroir de la main gauche et pose l'autre main sur un crible. La Justice est représentée avec une épée et une balance. La Tempérance tient une horloge, "symbole du rythme qui doit régler la vie du sage". Elle a à côté d'elle un moulin à vent. Les attributs de ces vertus sont essentiellement français. Il ne faut attirer l'attention que sur l'armure dont la Force est revêtue; c'est là un détail dû à l'influence italienne.

Les miniatures sont de la même inspiration dans les deux manuscrits; le ms. de Paris offre des enluminures moins soignées et plus grossières que celles du ms. de Vienne; mais les mêmes attributs qualifient les Vertus. Dans le ms. de Paris, la Force est casquée ce qui lui donne un caractère encore plus italien que dans le ms. de Vienne.

Il était intéressant de signaler ces miniatures qui viennent s'ajouter à celles que cite M. Magne en son remarquable ouvrage. Elles confirment ce que cet érudit a si bien mis en lumière. Elles nous montrent aussi combien Michel Riz témoigne de l'esprit de son temps, non seulement par le sujet de son traité, par

<sup>9</sup> E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 334.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 343.



la forme qu'il lui donne,<sup>11</sup> mais même encore par les enluminures dont il l'illustre.

MARCEL FRANÇON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

#### CINNA: A NOTE ON THE HISTORICAL SOURCES

THE plot of *Cinna* was suggested to Corneille by Montaigne's adaptation of a passage of Seneca's *De Clementia*; and it has been recognized from the first that Suetonius and Dion Cassius were also historical sources of the play. Valerius Maximus was not mentioned as a source of *Cinna* until a later date, while Appian was added to the list less than ten years ago by Prof. L. M. Riddle in his interesting work, *The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies From Médée to Pertinax*.

Prof. Riddle makes the following statements regarding Appian:

"The daughter of Toranius, hitherto considered Corneille's invention, is found in Appian: 'When the old man [Thuranius] knew this, he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter.'"<sup>1</sup>

"In the following analysis of the play mention will be made of Corneille's indebtedness . . . to Appian's *Roman History* (Civil Wars), to which due credit has not hitherto been given by commentators. Parallels to Seneca's *De Clementia*, the *Life of Augustus* by Suetonius, and Dio's *Roman History* . . . have been given in detail by Dr. Karl Liffert . . . Appian is overlooked by Liffert as a source of *Cinna*, I, 3, the account of the proscriptions being falsely attributed by him to Suetonius and Dio."<sup>2</sup>

"Appian tells us that the sons of Thuranius (Toranius of the play) and Annalis betrayed their fathers and inherited their fortunes . . ."<sup>3</sup>

"Through his reading, Corneille was able to find in the historians situations similar to those of Scudéry's play, such as the council scene, and he came across a certain daughter of Toranius . . . The discovery of this daughter of Toranius throws light on Corneille's practice in preferring an historical background wherever it was possible to find it."<sup>4</sup>

Upon examination of Appian, one finds in the Civil Wars, IV, 12: "Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius."<sup>5</sup>

The passage cited by Prof. Riddle, however, is found in IV, 18, as follows: "Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his

<sup>11</sup> Le genre *débat* a charmé tout le moyen âge. Cf. H. Guy, *Histoire de la Poésie française au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Paris, 1910, I, 112.

<sup>1</sup> L. M. Riddle, *The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies From Médée to Pertinax*, Baltimore, 1926, 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. In his edition of *Cinna* (N. Y., 1935), Prof. R. asserts (p. xxiii) that "Corneille found in Appian the person he needed: a daughter of Toranius, the guardian of Octavius." After this statement, one is surprised to find, in the index to this volume, that the guardian of Octavius ". . . may be the same as Thuranius, the praetor . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *Roman History*, tr. by Horace White, London and New York, 1913, IV, 159.

son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, 'He has already appealed, but on the other side.' When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment."<sup>6</sup>

The first passage above (from IV, 12) obviously refers to the father of Corneille's heroine. But in view of Prof. Riddle's positive statements, — all referring to the second passage above, — one is surprised to observe that, in the edition of Appian he cites, "Thoranius" is spelled differently from "Thuranius" in both Greek and English texts, while the index distinguishes between "Thoranius, C., tutor of Octavian, proscribed, C. IV, 12" and "another, proscribed, C. IV, 18."<sup>7</sup>

I find that while these two names are usually spelled alike when transliterated into the Latin alphabet, in every edition of the Greek text that I have been able to examine the name of the tutor of Augustus in IV, 12, is spelled *wpávios* and that of the person in IV, 18, *oupávios*.<sup>8</sup>

A note by Schweighaeuser offers the best comment I have been able to discover on this subject: "*θwpávios*. Glandorp. in *Onomast. Rom.* pag. 844 sq. & Freinsh. Suppl. Liv. CXX. 59. eundem putant, quem tutorem Cæsaris fuisse, Appianus dixerat pag. 546, 51 sq. Quod si ita est, *θwpávios*, h. l. fuerit legendum. Sed sic mirari subit, ne verbulo quidem inuisse Appianum, eundem hunc esse, de quo supra dixerat."<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the apparent unanimity of editors of Appian on this point, one finds that both Sir William Smith<sup>10</sup> and E. S. Shuckburgh<sup>11</sup> assume that the two passages in Appian refer to the same person, without, in either case, mentioning the fact that this assumption is very questionable. Though he mentions neither Smith nor Shuckburgh in his bibliography, it seems likely that one or the other may have caused Prof. Riddle to take this identity of character for granted without troubling to examine the text of Appian.

This question makes it necessary to doubt the validity, as a source of *Cinna*, of Valerius Maximus, who appears to have first been cited in this connection by Marty-Laveaux, when he refers to the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*, IX, xi, 5.<sup>12</sup> This citation is repeated by Petit de Julleville.<sup>13</sup> The passage in question is as follows: "Hanc crudelitatem, cui nihil adici posse uidetur, C. Toranius atrocitate parricidii superavit. Namque triumvirorum partes secutus proscripti patris sui, praetorii et ornati uiri, latebras, aetatem notasque corporis, quibus agnosci posset, centurionibus edidit, qui eum persecuti sunt. Senex de filii magis uita et incrementis quam de reliquo spiritu suo sollicitus, an incolomis

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 171.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 680.

<sup>8</sup> Leipzig, 1785 (Schweighaeuser); Paris, 1840 (Didot); Leipzig, 1852 (Bekker); Leipzig, 1905 (Viereck).

<sup>9</sup> Appian, *Romanarum Historiarum*, Leipzig, 1785, III, 829.

<sup>10</sup> A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, London, 1873.

<sup>11</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, ed. by E. S. Shuckburgh, Cambridge, 1896, 58.

<sup>12</sup> Corneille, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1862, III, 384.

<sup>13</sup> Corneille, *Cinna*, Ed. des Grands Écrivains de la France, Paris, 1921, 68.

esset et an imperatoribus satisfaceret interrogare eos coepit. E quibus unus 'Ab illo', inquit, 'quem tantopere diligis, demonstratus nostro ministerio filii indicio occideris, protinusque pectus eius gladio traiecit. Conlapsus itaque est infelix, auctore caedis quam ipsa caede miserior.'"<sup>14</sup>

This clearly refers to the Thuranus of Appian, IV, 18, so that the validity of Valerius Maximus as a source of *Cinna* is subject to the same doubts that have been considered in connection with Appian.

It might be argued, of course, that Corneille may have assumed, like the scholars mentioned above, that the two persons mentioned in Appian were the same. In the play, however, I find no valid evidence for the belief that Corneille was familiar with the passages in question. There is no mention of a brother of Émilie or of the betrayal of Thorianus by his son.

Prof. Riddle writes: "In Suetonius only part of a chapter is devoted to the proscriptions, and no details are given of the manner of the death of the victims. Only the name of Toranius is mentioned."<sup>15</sup>

In Suetonius, however, one finds: "Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos administravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquandiu collegis ne qua fieret proscripcio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, *solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur*, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate."<sup>16</sup>

The phrase I have italicized seems to justify, at least from the poetic standpoint, Émilie's reference to Augustus as one

"Que par sa propre main mon père massacré,"<sup>17</sup> of which Prof. Riddle writes, "... whereas, historically, Augustus merely allowed the name of Toranius to be put on the list of those proscribed."<sup>18</sup>

Certainly Suetonius makes Augustus directly responsible for the death of Thorianus, while the Thuranus mentioned by Appian and Valerius Maximus dies, betrayed by his son, apparently at the command of Antony. To follow this theory would seem to weaken the logic of the play by robbing Émilie of nearly all just reason for resentment. This, of course, is equally true of the passage in Nicolaus of Damascus, in which it is related that Augustus had been defrauded by his guardians.<sup>19</sup> This has not, I believe, been cited as a source of *Cinna*, but it is at least as pertinent as the passages that have been considered.

A few words may be added regarding the historical dates involved in *Cinna*, which appear to have escaped comment by critics of the play. The proscriptions in the course of which Thorianus met his death took place in the year 43 B. C., while Cinna was not made Consul until 5 A. D. If we follow Dion Cassius (and Corneille) in placing the conspiracy during the preceding year, the young heroine, even if an infant at the time of her father's death, must have been at least 47 years old at the time of the play.<sup>20</sup>

Corneille, doubtless ignorant of the date of Cinna's consulship, obviously

<sup>14</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*, Berlin, 1854, 717.

<sup>15</sup> Riddle, *op. cit.*, 50.

<sup>16</sup> Suetonius, *op. cit.*, 57-58.

<sup>17</sup> *Cinna*, I, 1; 11.

<sup>18</sup> Riddle, *op. cit.*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> *Smith College Classical Studies*, No. IV, 3.

<sup>20</sup> See Merivale, *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, London, 1865, IV, 291-293.

followed the account of Seneca, who states that Augustus was 40 years of age at the time, though some editors believe that this should read "60", since Seneca, later in the work, writes, "Such was Augustus when an old man, or when growing old . . ." <sup>21</sup>

Corneille, to be sure, was not a painstaking historian; his attitude is similar to that implied by Racine in the preface to *Iphigénie*: "Je puis dire donc que j'ai été très heureux de trouver dans les anciens cette autre Iphigénie, que j'ai pu représenter telle qu'il m'a plu . . ." <sup>22</sup> So Corneille found it convenient to reject Dion Cassius and follow Seneca in dating the play, but he was able to reject Seneca's location of the conspiracy in Gaul since he found, in Dion Cassius, authority for placing the scene of the play in Rome.

However, even with Augustus only 40 years of age, Émilie would have to be at least 35 if she were old enough to have consulted with her father, as implied in the passage of Appian discovered by Prof. Riddle; and a discrepancy of this sort might not have escaped Corneille or his critics. More important still is the fact that there is, in the play, no evidence that she had talked with her father or that she was old enough to remember a scene of parting that, as suggested in Appian, offers rather striking dramatic possibilities.

The considerations noted above cause one to regard with profound doubt efforts to establish Valerius Maximus and Appian as historical sources of *Cinna*; these authors provide us with a Thuranius who is probably not, historically, the Thoranius who had been a tutor of Augustus, and of this character they tell us only an anecdote that cannot be found to have influenced the play. Seneca, Dion Cassius, and Suetonius remain the only classical authors who may, with any certainty, be said to have furnished Corneille with specific source material for *Cinna*.

EDWIN E. WILLIAMS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

#### JURIDICAL CULTURE AND POLITICO-HISTORICAL JUDGMENT IN JOSEPH DE MAISTRE

CERTAIN sides of the complex personality of Joseph de Maistre have been, thus far, exceedingly stressed. The time has come for a different evaluation. Historians of literature, historians of political ideas are, by the intrinsic logic of their respective view-points, generally inclined to alter the distribution of light and shade which, if adequately proportioned, would throw into relief those parts of De Maistre really essential to his intellectual make-up.

As long as literary critics and historians of letters continue to claim him as a great *littérateur* on the ground of his stylistic bravura, and as long as historians of political ideas place him in the pantheon of eminent political thinkers, so long will a clear view of the nature of his achievement be unattainable.

De Maistre — it must be insisted — is primarily a jurist. He is the last representative of that line of jurists descending from Beaumanoir, the "father" of French jurisprudence, and running through Bouthillier, Jean de Mares, Rageau, L'Hommeau, Loisel, Domat, D'Aguesseau, Barbeyrac, Bergier. These men

<sup>21</sup> Seneca, *Minor Dialogues*, tr. by A. Stewart, London, 1889, 391.

<sup>22</sup> Paragraph 7.

were all conservatives, and bent on effecting a fusion of Roman law with theological principles. All shared in the adherence to the monarchical form, of whose advantages they were convinced champions, and which they justified with the Roman axiom *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*.

De Maistre's distinct originality<sup>1</sup> does not lie in his blending of Roman law with theology, of jurisprudence with biblicism. It lies in the interplay of juridical and politico-historical culture, in the fact that his juridical knowledge systematically influences — either vivifying or deforming it — his judgment of historical events and political institutions; in the fact that he has formed for himself a sort of *topica legalis*, a set of *regulae juris antiqui et verba artis*, a catechism of principles *ad directionem ingenii*, by which he is guided in the decisions of questions and cases.

The function of juridical culture in De Maistre is manifold. It is, first of all, a weapon of war against intellectualism;<sup>2</sup> it exposes the inanity of *a priori* constructions;<sup>3</sup> it stresses the non-rationality of history;<sup>4</sup> it inspires a wise skepticism;<sup>5</sup> and it recommends suspension of judgment.<sup>6</sup> Besides, since juridical culture is inconceivable if separated from historical, it furthers the relativistic attitude.<sup>7</sup> It stresses continuity<sup>8</sup> and tradition,<sup>9</sup> the value of precedence<sup>10</sup> and custom,<sup>11</sup> the authority of law,<sup>12</sup> the importance of the standard of duration,<sup>13</sup> the necessity for going straight to the essentials, for

<sup>1</sup> I do not attach to this word any *Werturteil*.

<sup>2</sup> The anti-intellectualist character of juridical culture is tersely expressed in Vico's remark that "jus naturale jurisconsultorum a jure naturali philosophorum longe diversum" (*De Uno*, CCXIV).

<sup>3</sup> "Melius lex contra aequitatem quam aequitas contra legem."

<sup>4</sup> "Non omnium eorum quae a majoribus nostris constituta sunt, rationem reddi posse" (L. Julianus, *Non omnium. D. de legibus*).

<sup>5</sup> "Ne nous hâtons pas d'admirer" (De Maistre speaking of the English Constitution).

<sup>6</sup> The frequency with which Aristotle's principle *lex mens affectibus vacua* circulates through De Maistre's system is highly significant.

<sup>7</sup> It would be hard to find a more thoroughgoing negation of the myth of the *optima forma civitatis* than the following: "Toutes formes possibles de gouvernement se sont présentées dans le monde; et toutes sont légitimes dès qu'elles sont établies." (De Maistre, *Du Pape*, II, IX). Here the subjacent idealistic doctrine (all phenomena are manifestations of a higher reality, or, as Vico puts it, "Le cose tutte che sono, possono con tutta proprietà chiamarsi pensieri di Dio," with its axiom that all reality is — at least partly — rational), appears as the legitimizing principle of the claims of residual truth: "Auctoritas rationis pars quaedam" (Vico, *De Uno*, Proloquium). The definitive expression of juridical relativism is that of Ulpian: "Jus civile . . . neque in totum a jure naturali recedit, nec per omnia ei servit; sed partim addit, partim detrahit."

<sup>8</sup> Dynastic succession appears to De Maistre as a sort of *saisine* exerted by the dead over the living: *le mort saisit le vif*.

<sup>9</sup> *Mores majorum*.

<sup>10</sup> *Jura quaesita*.

<sup>11</sup> "Inveterata consuetudo pro lege non immerito custoditur" (*Dig.*, I, 3, 32).

<sup>12</sup> *Dura lex sed lex*.

<sup>13</sup> "Il faut partir d'un principe général et incontestable: savoir, que tout gouvernement est bon, lorsqu'il est établi, et qu'il subsiste depuis longtemps sans contestation" (De Maistre, *Du Pape*, II, IX). De Maistre calls Time "the first minister of God in the department of the world."



grasping the core of questions, the most frequent, general traits.<sup>14</sup> It aims at appositeness of formulation, at simplification of concepts,<sup>15</sup> and lays emphasis on unity<sup>16</sup> and uniformity.<sup>17</sup> But, by so doing it bares its flanks to criticism, and reveals its shortcomings.

There is nothing that juridical culture hates more than ambiguity<sup>18</sup> and tautology.<sup>19</sup> But from the hatred of ambiguity springs hide-bound formalism,<sup>20</sup> excessive adherence to the letter.<sup>21</sup> From hatred of tautology derives the belief in the non-existence of synonyms, and the tendency to quibble in the attempt at capillary differentiations.<sup>22</sup> This attempt is topped by a kind of allegorical *realism*; by the identification of name with definition and definition with essence;<sup>23</sup> by the inclination to see theurgic powers in definitions, so that the mere correct positing of a problem appears equivalent to its solution.

In the observation of the dialectics of De Maistre's juridical culture lies a great deal of instruction and illumination as to the functioning of his psychology, the fundamental dynamics of his *Ideemwelt*. The antagonism and mu-

<sup>14</sup> "Ad ea potius debet aptari jus, quae et frequenter et facile, quam quae perraro eveniunt" (Celsus, *leg. 5, Dig., lib. I. tit. IV, de legibus*).

<sup>15</sup> "Jura non in singulas personas, sed generaliter constituuntur" (Ulpian, *Dig., lib. I, tit. II, leg. 11*).

<sup>16</sup> "Neque leges neque senatusconsulta ita scribi possunt, ut omnes casus qui quandoque inciderint, comprehendantur; sed sufficit ea, quae plerumque accidunt, contineri" (*Leg. 10, Dig. lib. I, tit. IV, de legibus*). Typical is the application of the *quod plerumque accidit* principle made by De Maistre in order to impugn the validity of the Council of Constance. "Un événement unique dans l'histoire de l'Eglise rendit son chef douteux pendant quarante ans. On dut faire ce qu'on n'avait jamais fait et ce que peut-être on ne fera jamais. L'empereur assembla les évêques, au nombre de deux cents environ. C'était un conseil, et non un concile" (*Du Pape*, I, XI).

<sup>17</sup> De Maistre professes a predilection for "les idées simples et pratiques."

<sup>18</sup> "Toute souveraineté doit être considérée comme un seul individu ayant possédé toutes les bonnes et les mauvaises qualités qui ont appartenu à la dynastie entière" (De Maistre, *Du Pape*, IV, XVII).

<sup>19</sup> The Platonic *tenet rumpi est corrupti* of which the Roman jurists make frequent use in order to establish the indivisibility of certain rights, blossoms out in De Maistre's theory of sovereignty, and in the central dogma of *Du Pape*: "L'homme ne saurait imaginer rien de mieux que ce qui existe, c'est à dire une puissance qui mène les hommes par des règles générales, faites non pour un tel cas ou pour un tel homme, mais pour tous les cas, pour tous les temps, et pour tous les hommes" (*Du Pape*, II, I).

<sup>20</sup> This warning is characteristic: "Le mot de monarchie . . . peut représenter deux gouvernements ou contemporains ou séparés par le temps, plus ou moins différents sous la même dénomination, en sorte qu'on ne pourra point affirmer de l'un tout ce que l'on affirme justement de l'autre" (*Du Pape*, II, IX).

<sup>21</sup> See De Maistre's strictures against Rousseau for the latter's tautologies, in *Examen d'un Ecrit de Rousseau*.

<sup>22</sup> "In legibus interpretandis verba accipienda sunt in propria significatione".

<sup>23</sup> *Apex juris*.

<sup>24</sup> De Maistre's admiration for such micrologies is so great that, in spite of his *engouement* for the French language, he reputed it inferior to Latin in point of fineness when, treating of the attitude of Honorius on the question of monotelism, he comes across Bossuet's acknowledgment that "Honorii verba orthodoxa maxime videri." Bossuet's subtlety elicits this response: "Jamais homme de l'univers ne fut aussi maître de sa plume. On croirait, au premier coup d'œil, pouvoir traduire en français: l'expression d'Honorius semble très orthodoxe. Mais on se tromperait. Bossuet n'a pas dit: *maxime orthodoxa videri*; mais *orthodoxa maxime videri*. Le *maxime* frappe sur *videri*, et non sur *orthodoxa*. Qu'on essaie de rendre cette finesse en français: il faudrait pouvoir dire: l'expression d'Honorius très-semble orthodoxe" (*Du Pape*, I, XV).

<sup>25</sup> "C'est absolument la même chose de demander la définition, l'essence ou le nom d'une chose" (De Maistre, *Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon*, Chap. IV, p. 106).



tual play of the idealistic and pragmatic *motif* are glaringly visible in the antithesis of casuistry and latitudinarianism, in the rise from the empiricism of the juridical formula to a transcendental conception of jurisprudence, akin to the classic one of *divinarum et humanarum rerum notitia*; in the conception of the mission of the jurisconsult, who appears not only as a *pragmaticus*, as a technician of law, but also, and preeminently, as a *vir egregie cordatus*, as the promulgator of the highest decrees of the moral and religious world. Startling is this return to the origins, by which De Maistre reinstates the definition of jurisprudence given by Ulpian, forsaking the prosaic one supplied by Vinnius, according to which jurisprudence is only a *habitus practicus leges recte interpretandi adplicandique recte ad species quasvis obvenientes*.

The study of De Maistre's juridical culture enables us to get at the basis of his mystical leanings, to seize the germination of his religious system, rising from the rich humus of historico-juridical interpretation. Notice, for instance, his extolling of the matchless *génie formuliste* of the Romans.<sup>24</sup> "No nation in the world has known better how to annihilate the man in order to form the citizen. All deeds of public law, all conventions, all bequests, all legal applications, all accusation, etc., were under the sway of formulas, and, so to speak, circumscribed by obligatory words which sometimes, in the Latin writers, bear the name of *carmen*, a term allusive to the laws which prescribed the form, without which the deed failed to be Roman, *i. e.*, valid. Crime itself was not crime except when it was declared to be such by a formula."<sup>25</sup> We laugh today, instead of admiring, when we read that, at the time of Cicero, an outstanding act of knavery could not be punished because Aquilius, colleague and friend of the great orator, had not yet uttered his formula, *de dolo malo*. Several interesting things could be said on this subject. I will limit myself to a single remark. The one among the emperors who veritably destroyed the Roman empire, replacing it (unwittingly, perhaps) with an Asiatic monarchy which had been already sketched by Diocletian and had not been changed after him, was precisely the one who abolished formulas; the law that is to be found in the Justinian code under the title *De formulis tollendis* is by Constantine.<sup>26</sup> Here

<sup>24</sup> Attention must be drawn to the delightful mock-naïveté of De Maistre (he reminds one of *une courtisane fanée jouant les airs d'une vierge avec des pudeurs de carmin*) who passes lightly over this, the true explanation of the matchless *génie formuliste* of the Romans: "Quidquid ordo [the dominating class], concepta verborum formula jubet, jus ex ordine [class legislation] est" (Vico).

"Hic Rhodus salta!" Vico brings out fully the connection between formalism and privilege, *jus latens* and aristocratic régime.

<sup>25</sup> Mark well this train of thought, resting on the equation of two apparently antithetical terms: form — substance. What is formless is juridically non-existent, because, in the juridical domain, there is utter equipollence between form and substance. The formula creates the crime.

<sup>26</sup> De Maistre refers to Constantine's *constitutio* which is to be found in *Cod. lib. II*: "Juris formulae aucupatione syllabarum insidiantes cunctorum actibus radicibus amputentur." Constantine's *constitutio*, issued in 342 A. D., was supplemented and integrated in 428 by another, promulgated by Theodosius and Valentinianus: "Nulli prorsus non impetrare actionis in majore vel minore judicio agenti apponatur exceptio, si aptam rei et proposito negotio competentem eam esse constiterit." (*Cod. lib. II, tit. LVIII: De formulis et impetrationibus sublati*.)

Vico conjectures that the reasons prompting Constantine to abolish the formulas were both the warnings of natural fairness, "ut quibusquibus verbis actor suum jus adversarium docuisset, in id jus recte sententia dirigeretur", and the fact that, having embraced the Christian faith, "formulas juramentorum tollere voluit, quae per falsos deos concipiebantur" (Vico, *De Umo*, CCXV).

the legal formula is *hypostatized* to the dignity of a symbol of the political genius of the Romans, and the civilizing influence of juristical procedure exalted with words ("to annihilate the man in order to form the citizen") that leave little doubt as to the origin of De Maistre's authoritarianism.

The beginnings of De Maistre's theory of paradox are, on the other hand, to be found in his recoil from the worship of formulistic literalism. The paradoxical side of the political order is penetrated, rendered transparent and justified by De Maistre with the maxim, inherited by the Romans from the Greeks, that States are governed by non-existing as well as by existing, by unwritten as well as by written, laws. For De Maistre — *quod bene nota* — the unwritten law, in this case, is not customary law, *consuetudo*; it is — here lies the paradox — a law non-existent because unwritten, but actually operative and imperative: "Nothing is simpler and more profound. Is there any Turkish law which explicitly permits a sovereign to send a man to death without the intermediary verdict of a tribunal? Is there any written law, even religious, which forbids the sovereigns of Christian Europe from doing the same thing? However, the Turk is no more surprised to see his master condemn a man to immediate death than to see him going to the mosque. He believes, with the whole of Asia, and with all the ancients, that the right of condemning to death, exerted immediately, is a legitimate appanage of sovereignty. But our rulers would shudder at the mere idea of condemning a man to death; because, according to our point of view, it would be an abominable murder. However, I doubt if it would be possible to forbid the oriental potentates from exercising this right by a fundamental written law without producing evils greater than those which the legislator would be aiming at preventing."

It is in the contemplation of this paradox of political dynamics, in the admiration of the salutary obscurity<sup>27</sup> of legislation, that De Maistre comes to the realization of the divine elements of constitutions.<sup>28</sup> And this mysticism of juridical obscurity, arriving at its theoretical systematization in De Maistre, is nothing but the dictate of ancient Roman wisdom: "The principle should be agreed upon, but the rules of application should not be specified."<sup>29</sup> De Maistre sees the principle operating, with palpable evidence, in the political constitution of the Roman State. He makes us realize from what depths maxims of juridical method emanate, as he sees the principle of "salutary obscurity" upwelling from the rock-bottom of the Roman civic conscience. This principle appears to be the explanation of the silence of Roman history as to the real powers of the Senate: "We see, in general, that the power of the people and that of the Senate balanced, and did not cease combating each other; we see that patriotism or lassitude, weakness or violence, put a stop to those dangerous struggles, but that is all we know. Considering those tremendous scenes of history we are sometimes tempted to believe that things would have gone much better if there had been precise laws to circumscribe powers; but this idea would be a great mistake. Such laws, always compromised by unexpected cases and by

<sup>27</sup> "Taciturnitas optimum atque tutissimum rerum administrandarum vinculum" (Aristotle). "Expressa nocent, non expressa non nocent."

<sup>28</sup> "Il est des choses qu'il faut laisser dans une certaine obscurité respectable, sans prétendre les trop éclaircir par des lois expresses" (De Maistre, *Du Pape*, III, IV).

<sup>29</sup> "Omnis definitio periculosa."

forced exceptions, would not have lasted six months, or would have overthrown the State."

It is in salutary obscurity, in the clear establishment of the supreme principle, and in the skilful pretermission of regulation for concrete cases (*de minimis non curat praetor!*) that the essence of jurisprudence consists; for De Maistre this essence is, etymologically and literally, *prudentia juris*, and prudence is equivalent to well-advised, intentional, resourceful and foreseeing silence.

Fénelon comes in for a mead of praise for having stated laconically that "the Church can excommunicate the King, and the King can sentence the Pontiff. Both can make use of this right only in extreme cases; but it is a real right." De Maistre comments: "This is an uncontestable truth; but what are extreme cases? It is impossible to define them." And he iterates: "The principle should be agreed upon, but the rules of application should not be specified."<sup>80</sup>

The archetypal proof, the example *par excellence*, the irrefutable demonstration is given by the English constitution. "Examine it carefully: you will see that it works without working, if I may be permitted to use this paradox. It only stands by its exceptions. The *habeas corpus*, for instance, has been suspended often and for such long times, that it has given rise to the doubt as to whether the exception has not become the rule. Let us suppose for a moment that the authors of this famous piece of legislation had had the presumption to specify the cases in which it could be suspended: they would have, *ipso facto*, destroyed it.

"During the sitting of the House of Commons of June 26, 1807, a certain lord quoted the authority of a great statesman in order to establish that the King has not the right to dissolve Parliament during a session; but this opinion was objected to. Where is the law granting such a right? There is no such law. Try to pass it, and to specify exclusively in writing the cases in which the King has this right; you will bring about a revolution. The King, one of the members of the House then said, has this right when the occasion is important; but what is an important occasion? Try again to decide the question in writing.

"But here is something still more singular. Everybody remembers the great issue agitated with such fervor in England in 1806. It was a question of whether it was possible to hold the office of Supreme Court Judge simultaneously with that of member of the Privy Council without violating the principles of the English Constitution. In the session of the House of Commons of March 3 a representative observed that England is governed by a body, the Privy Council, that is not even mentioned by the Constitution. Only, the member added, the Constitution does not interfere with its activities.

"Here we see then, in the wise and justly celebrated England, a body which governs and actually does everything, but which the Constitution does not even mention. Delolme has forgotten this point to which I could add many others.

"After that let people gabble about written constitutions and constitutional laws made *a priori*. One cannot conceive how a sensible man could dream of the possibility of a like chimera. If England made a law giving constitu-

<sup>80</sup> De Maistre, *Du Pape*, II, VIII.

tional existence to the Privy Council, and regulating and circumscribing rigorously its privileges and functions, with the precautions necessary for limiting its influence and preventing its abuse, the State would be overthrown."<sup>31</sup>

De Maistre sees a direct connection between the capacity to utilize salutary legal obscurity for "wise" constitutional advancement, and the problem of ascertaining whether a people is or is not *made* for political liberty. When a people does not know how to take advantage of its fundamental laws, it is a sign that it is not intended for liberty or that it is irremediably corrupt. In De Maistre's opinion abandonment of fundamental laws and indulgence in excessive legislation are just as grave excesses as strict textual clinging to old juridical monuments. The statement of Hume on the right to remonstrance has De Maistre's unqualified endorsement: in the discriminating and expert handling of "certain delicate ideas of a *propos* and of propriety", rather than in the dogmatic adherence to the exactitude of laws and enactments, consists the secret of juridical sagacity.

The manner in which De Maistre's juridical culture influences his historical and political judgment is shown in the constant appearance of analogy, of inferences drawn from *rapprochements* of institutions of private law to historical or political events or institutions.<sup>32</sup> *Rapprochements* of such a kind cannot properly be said to constitute a *method*, a systematic tool of interpretation, but, on account of the spontaneity with which they are used, the native agility and skill with which they are handled, they give us the impression that they are consubstantial to their author and mirror the functioning of his psychology. Analogic reasoning from private to public law, from relationships and regulations obtaining in the private sphere to institutions of the political domain is a characteristic feature of Roman jurisprudence (although the procedure is objected to by Cicero in *De Legibus*, Book I); by adopting it as the basic element of his *Denkform* De Maistre was consciously overstepping the bounds marked both by Vico and Montesquieu to such procedure.

The *exemplum probans* of De Maistre's use of the analogic method of reasoning from private to public law, and of its consequences for historical judgment, is his utilization of the criterion of testamentary succession in order to maintain, against bishops and theologians, that the Catholic Church was *not* established and that St. Peter was *not* a Pontiff before the death of Christ. The importance of the point is testified to by the inferences drawn by De Maistre from the affirmation of the *human* character of the institution of the Papacy. In these inferences juridicism combines with paradoxical antinomy; De Maistre's demonstration being a sort of antiphrastic trick by which the establishment of the *human* character of the Papacy is the most cogent proof of its actually *superhuman* character. Papacy is divine because it is *not* divine; because it is the work of a *causa secunda*; because the Pontiffs have not been and are not superhuman beings, but mortals exposed to all the infirmities to which the flesh is heir.

Four categories of juridical thought play special rôles, each with its own

<sup>31</sup> De Maistre, *Essai sur le Principe générateur*, V, VI, VII.

<sup>32</sup> Thus, for instance, elective monarchies are likened by De Maistre to associations based on contract.

distinctive features, in De Maistre's system. They are: *jurisdictio*, *consensus tacitus*, *contractus*, *figmentum juris*.

The category of *jurisdictio* is the fulcrum on which De Maistre's conception of sovereignty is supported. The latter is an equational trinity (sovereign = inappellable = infallible), a deductive formula by which each term can be telescoped out of the other in optional order. To all practical purposes *jurisdictio* (which for him is tantamount to inappellability) and *jurisditio* (sovereignty) are, for De Maistre, one and the same thing.<sup>33</sup> Contrast this with Vico's skilful differentiation (*De Uno*, CXLI) between *manus juris* (inappellability) and *mens juris* (sovereignty). De Maistre's fixation of the 4th century as the *terminus a quo* of the rise of the Roman Church as a political institution of world-wide importance is highly revelatory of the significance he attaches to the category of the *jurisdictio*. "It was in the 4th century that the Greek bishops started the custom of going to Rome for the decision of their controversies." Here the criterion of the *jurisdictio* settles for De Maistre the strongly disputed chronological point.

The category of the *consensus tacitus* has hardly less sharply accentuated relief than that of the *jurisdictio* in De Maistre's system. "During the Middle Ages nations either had no laws at all or laws which they despised and corrupt customs. Some external curb was absolutely indispensable. It was found in the only possible power: the authority of the Popes. This curb was placed in the hands of the Popes not through any express agreement — which would have been impossible — but by *tacit* and universal *consent*, a consent admitted by the rulers as well as by the subjects and which produced incalculable advantages."<sup>34</sup>

The category of *contractus* which De Maistre rejects as a ghoulsh *Schreckbild* when it is a question of hereditary monarchy he invests with full plausibility when it comes to elective monarchy. He comments with approval on Voltaire's observation that election presupposes a contract between the king and the nation so that the elective king can occasionally be arraigned and judged.

The category of the *figmentum juris*, as treated by De Maistre, takes us into the very midst of that allegorical *realism*, that habit of giving actual reality to verbal symbols, on which I remarked at the beginning of this article. The imaginative side of juridicism, of which the *figmentum juris* is the outcrop, blends harmoniously with the belief in the historical effectiveness of a purely moral force: the myth.

<sup>33</sup> Gumpłowicz' indictment of the juridical method places itself here spontaneously: "Welchen Wert haben solche juristische Konstruktionen für die Staatswissenschaft? Gar keinen. Auf dem Gebiet des Privatrechts, in Anwendung auf Rechtsinstitute mag sich diese juristische Methode bewähren. Der Staat aber ist kein Rechtsinstitut, über die Tatsachen des Staates kann man sich mittelst der juristischen Methode Keinerlei Aufklärung verschaffen. Auf dem Gebiet der Staatswissenschaft muss die juristische Methode notwendigerweise in Spiegelfechterei ausarten. . . . Das Wesen des Staates, die Interessen des Staates, die angebliche Wille des Staates als Persönlichkeit oder Einheit . . . sind Probleme, die jenseits aller juristischen Erkenntnis liegen. Hier ist die Staatswissenschaft berechtigt, der Juristerei ein 'ne sutor ultra crepidam' zuzurufen" (*Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, Innsbruck, 1905, Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, pp. 385-86).

<sup>34</sup> De Maistre, *Du Pape*, II, IX.

"Du moment où les Princes, par je ne sais quelle convention tacite qui mérite quelque attention, semblent s'être accordés à reconnaître la neutralité des Papes, on n'a plus trouvé ceux-ci mêlés dans les intrigues ou opérations guerrières" (*Ibid.*, II, VI).



Antiquity believed that "the same city-walls could not hold both the Emperor and the Pontiff: thence the myth of the donation of Constantine, a myth which is quite *true*. The ancients, who were fond of seeing and touching everything, made out of Constantine's abandonment of Rome an explicit and definite donation. They saw the document proving it written on parchment and placed on the altar of St. Peter. The moderns claim that it is a falsification; but the ancients were absolutely innocent, they were merely expressing their thoughts in the guise of fable. Therefore nothing is more true than the donation of Constantine. From that moment on one feels that the Emperors were strangers in Rome. They seem like foreigners making a brief sojourn there, every now and then, with the permission of the Pope. But here is something still more amazing. Odoacre with his Herules invades Italy in order to destroy the Western Empire in 475; soon after the Herules disappear before the Goths, who in their turn yield to the Longobards who seize possession of Italy. What force, throughout more than three centuries, prevents the rulers from permanently setting up their throne in Rome? What arm repulses them to Milan, to Pavia, to Ravenna? It is the Donation; and its origin is too lofty for it not to be carried into effect."<sup>85</sup>

The bond connecting *figmentum juris* and *fabula* is here plainly apparent. On the basis of the passage just quoted would it be utterly unjustified to affirm that De Maistre's fondness for underscoring the *welthistorische* significance of the imaginative factor is but another aspect of his mystical belief in the *real* existence of juridical allegories?

ELIO GIANTURCO

NEW YORK

THE MAHOMET OF VOLTAIRE AND THE MAHOMET OF  
HENRI DE BORNIER

**M**OHAMMED, the founder of Islam, is the central figure of plays by two notable French dramatists, the rationalistic philosopher and deist, Voltaire, and the devoutly Catholic Romanticist, Henri de Bornier. Neither of them wrote his *Mahomet* because of sympathy with the protagonist. Voltaire chose Mohammed as the hero of one of his plays because he wanted to attack the intolerance of the church of his day. More than a century later, Henri de Bornier wrote a play with the Prophet as the central figure because he wanted to show the superiority of Christianity over all other religions.

The *Mahomet* of Voltaire was begun in 1736. In a letter to Frederick the Great, written in September, 1738, he speaks of having already sent the first act of the play for the Prince to read. Three more acts followed during the next months, but for some reason, the fifth did not reach Frederick until the beginning of 1740, at which time Voltaire announced in a letter that he was correcting and recopying the entire play. The corrected copy was sent in March, 1740.<sup>1</sup>

The play was destined to wait several months before being presented. Late in 1740, Voltaire went for a visit to his niece, Mme Denis, whose husband held the office of Commissioner of War and was stationed at Lille. During the visit,

<sup>85</sup> De Maistre, *Du Pape*, II, VI.

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Edition Garnier Frères, t. 3; Avis de l'Éditeur.



Voltaire renewed his acquaintance with the actor-playwright, Lanoue, who was director of the theatre of Lille.<sup>2</sup> and who was also the author of a *Mabomet* which had never been played. Therefore, he felt a keen interest in Voltaire's drama, which he proposed to give at his theatre.

In April, 1741, the first performance took place. During the first intermission, a letter announcing the victory of Frederick the Great at Molwitz was brought to Voltaire, who read it to the audience. The news brought forth an outburst of enthusiastic applause. According to Condorcet, the audience applauded first Frederick, then Voltaire and his *Mabomet*. The première of *Mabomet* at Lille was a success, partly due to a twenty-one year old actor, Lekain, who played the rôle of Eéide.<sup>3</sup>

After such a beginning, Voltaire naturally thought of having the play given in Paris. Upon his return, early in 1742, he read it to his friends and acquaintances who declared it a masterpiece. But Crébillon, a personal enemy of Voltaire, was dramatic censor, and he eagerly seized the opportunity to revenge himself upon his arrival by refusing to endorse the MS. Voltaire then decided to dispense with Crébillon's signature. He obtained an audience with Cardinal de Fleury to whom he read his MS. The Cardinal must not have found the reading very interesting, for almost at the beginning, he fell asleep. When he awakened, he gave his approval, but felt bound to make some suggestions which were merely corrections in the style.

These corrections made, the play was finally received at the Théâtre-Français in August, 1742. What the reception of *Mabomet* might have been, had not Voltaire's enemies been active, is uncertain. Of course, the poet's friends were enthusiastic over it. However, most of the members of the brilliant assembly present at the first performance pretended to be horrified at seeing Mohammed appear on a French stage. Many of them went around loudly proclaiming their disapproval, calling the play "a frightful scandal", "an impious monster", and proved this last by showing that in the name, Ma-ho-met, there is the same number of syllables as in Jé-sus-Christ. Cardinal de Fleury was asked to settle the so-called "trisyllabic argument", and he persuaded Voltaire to withdraw his play which was then at its third performance.<sup>4</sup>

Voltaire complied with the request, but he had no intention of retiring from the field, for he had a very definite plan in reserve. In a letter to d'Argental, written soon afterward, he said: "Since I am a victim of the Jansenists, I will dedicate *Mabomet* to the Pope and will count on being made a bishop among the infidels, for that is my real diocese."<sup>5</sup>

In August, 1745, a copy of the play was sent to Pope Benedict XIV, together with the following letter: "I beg your Holiness to pardon the liberty taken by one of the humblest, yet one of the greatest admirers of virtue, in dedicating to the head of the true religion a piece of writing directed against the founder of a false and barbarous religion.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Léo Claretie, *Revue Bleue*, May 17, 1890.

<sup>5</sup> *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, t. 3, préface de *Mabomet*.

"To whom could I more fittingly address the satire against the cruelty and errors of a false prophet than to the Pope and Imitator of a God of peace and truth?"

"I trust your Holiness will permit me to place at his feet both the book and its author. I take the liberty of asking his protection for the one and his benediction for the other. It is with these sentiments of deepest veneration that I prostrate myself and kiss your holy feet."

This bit of flattery accomplished its purpose, for the Pope accepted the dedication in terms indicative of pleasure. "Several weeks ago", he wrote, "your admirable tragedy, *Mabomet*, which I have read with great pleasure, was given to me. Cardinal Passionei then gave me in your name the beautiful poem, *Fontenoi*. M. Leprotti sent me your couplet for my portrait, and Cardinal Valenti delivered to me your letter of August 17. Each of these attentions deserves a special and separate expression of gratitude; but you will allow me to combine them. You cannot doubt the particular esteem that talent as widely recognized as yours inspires in me . . . There remains only for us to give you our apostolic benediction."

How was the news of this blessing received in France? It was generally thought, among Voltaire's enemies and rivals, that in declaring *Mabomet* an admirable tragedy, Benedict XIV had fallen into a trap, that he had been tricked by the clever arch-enemy of religion. But it is hardly likely that the Pope considered the affair anything more than a polite exchange of compliments with the greatest wit of all France.

*Mabomet* had not been given at the Théâtre-Français since it was officially banned in 1742. Nine years passed. Voltaire appealed to various persons of importance; and at last, through the efforts of d'Argenson, another censor was chosen for the play. This time it was d'Alembert, who was more obliging than Crébillon and readily agreed to sign the MS. The ban was accordingly lifted. Several years later, in the midst of a quarrel between the clergy and parliament, while Voltaire was in Berlin, *Mabomet* once again made its appearance at the Théâtre-Français. This time the public was not shocked at seeing the Prophet of Islam on a French stage, nor was the Sublime Porte offended. Indeed, there was scarcely any question of the Sultan of Turkey at this time; contacts between the two countries were rare, and Constantinople was not particularly interested in French literature. Voltaire's victory was complete, except for the fact that the play did not repeat the success of its first performance in Lille.

\* \* \*

In the Spring of 1784, an enthusiastic and very curious audience was present at the première of the *Mariage de Figaro*. They heard the monologue of Figaro: "I polish off a comedy on the customs of the seraglio; being Spanish, I think I may criticize Mohammed with impunity; immediately, an envoy from I know not where complains that in my lines I insult the Sublime Porte, Persia, a part of the Peninsula of the Indes, all Egypt, the kingdoms of Barca, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco; there is my comedy gone up in smoke to please the Mohammedan princes, none of whom, I believe, can even read and who beat us black and blue, calling us, *Christian dogs*."

Laughter and applause greeted these lines. But the same monologue produced something of a stir at a performance of *Figaro* 105 years later. Some of

the habitués of the Théâtre-Français realized then that Beaumarchais had been a real prophet when he announced in 1784 the unfortunate accident that, more than a century later, was to befall the author of another *Mabomet*, Henri de Bornier.

In 1784, there was still no danger from the Sultan of Turkey. It was only the fertile imagination of Beaumarchais that led him to conceive of the indignation a Mohammedan ruler would feel at seeing Islam's prophet as the principal figure of a play. But it so happened that Figaro had had a glimpse into the future, that he had foreseen the day when *Mabomet* would be forbidden by a republican government which claimed to allow liberty of the press and in the theatre. The rest of his prophecy is likewise true, for the play was forbidden at the demand of the Sultan of Turkey. And the burlesquely prophetic monologue of Figaro may be considered a connecting link between the *Mabomet* of Voltaire and that of Bornier.

On practically every point Bornier was opposed to Voltaire and to his beliefs, for Bornier had the greatest respect for all established traditions, especially for the Christian religion and for the Catholic Church. Although he never associated himself definitely with any school or group of writers, it is easy to trace in Bornier's works certain tendencies inherited from the Romantic poets, notably from Victor Hugo.

When Bornier decided to write a play with Mohammed as the central figure, he was giving free rein to his Romantic tendencies. Also, he had a thesis to prove, but that thesis was the opposite of Voltaire's. In playing Mohammed, Voltaire strikes at religious intolerance, wherever it may be found, and it is a blow aimed particularly at the intolerance manifested by the Christian clergy. Bornier, on the other hand, seeks to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian religion over all others, especially that of Mohammed.

The *Mabomet* of Bornier was unanimously accepted by the committee of the Théâtre-Français in June, 1888.<sup>6</sup> The following year, rehearsals began. No effort was spared in staging the play and in preparing the decorations. Henri Maréchal was engaged to compose five numbers of incidental music. The rôles were assigned to the leading artists of the Comédie-Française, including Mounet-Sully, Paul Mounet and Albert Lambert.<sup>7</sup> Then there appeared in the theatrical columns of the papers a few notes on the play. These notes were printed in Turkish newspapers and, in that way, Turkey learned that plans were being made in Paris to present Mohammed on the stage.

Immediately, the Sultan directed Eddad Pacha, Turkish Ambassador to Paris, to find out whether or not the play was a direct attack upon Islam. When Jules Claretie, director of the Théâtre-Français, assured him through the Minister of Public Instruction that the *Mabomet* of Bornier could in no way offend Constantinople, the Ambassador appeared to be satisfied. Nothing more was heard from the Sultan, and the affair seemed to be settled.

Then in the middle of October, the question blazed forth again. Several papers published a letter signed the "Algerian." The author's identity was unknown at the time and has never been discovered.<sup>8</sup> Hiding behind this anony-

<sup>6</sup> *Ceuvres choisies d'Henri de Bornier*, Préface de *Mabomet*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. "Henri de Bornier", *Le Correspondant*, February 10, 1900.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Martino, *L'Interdiction du Mabomet de M. de Bornier*, p. 6.

mity, he vigorously asserted that the very idea of putting Mohammed on the stage was displeasing to the entire Mohammedan world. Finally, he declared that the incident would be used by the faction seeking to destroy French influence in Africa. This last threat was effective, so that Bornier was requested to withdraw his play, for a time, at least.

Meanwhile, French papers began publishing news of Emperor William's visit to the Orient. In the course of this trip he was to visit Sultan Abdul Hamid in Constantinople. If the reading public wondered about the importance given to the visit of one monarch to another, the inner circle of diplomatic officials understood that this was more than a mere friendly meeting. Before the arrival of the Emperor, the Sultan received M. de Montebello, the French Ambassador, with marked coldness. When M. de Montebello inquired as to the cause of Abdul Hamid's displeasure, the Sultan replied by demanding that rehearsals of *Mabomet* should be stopped immediately by action of the French Government.

Montebello made the Sultan's demand known at once. Then in February, 1890, Spüler, newly elected Minister of Public Instruction, asked to see the MS of the play, no part of which had been published up to this time. Bornier offered to make any concessions that might be necessary, but his conciliatory offers were of no avail. In March, 1890, a new Ministry came into power, and one of its first official acts was to ban the play.<sup>9</sup> Since the Théâtre-Français was controlled by the Government, it could only abide by an official decision.

In April of the same year, the entire play was published in the *Correspondant*. The official ban as it had appeared in the *Temps* of April 1, 1890, accompanied the play: "Because of the diplomatic difficulties which might possibly be the result of the presentation on a French stage of the *Mabomet* of M. de Bornier, the Council of Ministers, in one of its last meetings, decided that the play could not be given in a subsidized theatre or in any other theatre. The French Ambassador to Constantinople, M. de Montebello, was instructed to inform the Sultan of this decision.

"Abdul Hamid received the news with effusive thanks and is reported to have said: 'I am very grateful for this measure; I see in it a delicate attention to me and to my subjects. But I consider it, too, a very wise measure on your part, for in this manner you have shown consideration for your Mohammedan subjects, who could not have helped being hurt by such a performance. I congratulate you and I beg you to convey to Paris the expression of my most friendly feeling for M. Carnot, for his Government and for France.'"

The press had much to say about the matter, since it considered that a great wrong had been done Bornier. Critics, in reviewing the play after its publication, reflected this general opinion. They were lavish in their praises of *Mabomet*, dwelling at length on the effect it would have produced on the stage. Some of them remembered the fate of Voltaire's *Mabomet* in 1742; and a few went so far as to say without reserve that Bornier's production was superior in every respect to the former.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Nancy Stewart, *La Vie et l'Œuvre d'Henri de Bornier*, p. 166.

<sup>10</sup> Léo Claretie, *Revue Bleue*, May 17, 1890, p. 628; Lefranc, *Revue d'Art dramatique*, May 1, 1890, p. 137; Marcel Fouquier, *Nouvelle Revue*, May 11, 1890, p. 440.

Bornier was not haunted by any memories of Voltaire's *Mabomet*, for his play is a new and entirely independent conception. Voltaire's *Mabomet* is limited in scope and treatment; but Bornier, by placing his Prophet in the midst of the struggle with the other great religions, Christianity and Judaism, enters the vast domain of religious history. Voltaire chose only one dramatic incident in his hero's life, while the later play extends from Mohammed's youth until his death. Bornier has given a sort of dramatized biography.

Bornier's treatment of the subject is certainly more sympathetic than Voltaire's. It is true that his Mohammed is always jealous of Christ and always conscious of the superiority of Christianity over his own teachings. But Bornier has only borrowed this fact from the Koran, as well as the scene of Ayesha's accusation, which is an exact reproduction of the 24th chapter of the Koran, called the Chapter of Light. When Bornier has Mohammed die by poison, he is still following an ancient and accredited tradition. It is difficult to see what there was in this characterization of the Prophet that might offend the Sublime Porte. Anyway, the Sultan had not seen the play when he started proceedings to have it forbidden.

What did bring Bornier's *Mabomet* under the ban? Why was such importance given to the production of one play that was not of such great importance in itself? The answer is to be found in the newspapers of the period preceding and following the visit of William II. Around Nov. 1, 1889, the Emperor started for Constantinople where he was solemnly received by the Sultan. French diplomats anxiously followed news of this trip. They were wondering whether or not Turkey would be drawn into the Triple Alliance. Besides, a Franco-Turkish commercial treaty that had been signed 30 years before was to expire in March, 1890. Negotiations were under way to renew it, for vast commercial interests were at stake. France had reason enough to listen to Turkey's demands.

That is the part played by politics and diplomacy in causing Bornier's play to be banned. The action of the French Government seemed to smooth out any difficulties existing between France and Turkey. The day the Sultan learned that France had acceded to his wishes, he invited M. de Montebello together with other diplomats to a dinner. This time their reception was more than cordial. During the course of the evening, the social function became an *Affair of State*; and M. de Montebello was decorated by the Turkish Government.

In France, the new Ministry could rest easily so far as Turkey was concerned. *Figaro* published during the month of April an article that showed clearly the attitude of the Government: "Up to now, the Sublime Porte had never recognized the sovereignty of France over Algeria and Tunis. But the official speech of Abdul Hamid removes this reservation, and our Government has obtained, at the cost of a tragedy, a formal recognition that its diplomatic crops tried in vain to secure. Whatever the value of the sacrificed play, it is not too great a price to pay for such a result. The author loses only a dramatic success; we win a national victory."

Abdul Hamid may have been somewhat surprised at the willingness of France to cater to his whim; and it was not long afterward that he attempted to repeat his victory. A few months later he learned that a comedy, *The Three Sultans*, was about to be revived. This comedy did not attack Mohammed di-



rectly, but it did criticize and ridicule polygamy. Abdul Hamid demanded that it be forbidden. This time, however, there was no thought of granting his request. In fact, there was no need to consider it. William II had long before left Constantinople, and affairs between France and Turkey seemed tranquil enough, on the surface, at least. The treaty had been renewed. The Sultan had to content himself with one victory.

But times have changed. No doubt before many years have passed, some French motion picture company will go on location in Algeria and make a colorful film of the life of Mohammed. We can hardly believe that the present Government of Turkey will be offended by such a performance. Indeed, it is possible that "movie-fans" in Egypt, Turkey and North Africa will receive such a film enthusiastically. But whatever the reception of a film or a future play may be, the two *Mabomets* of French literature will undoubtedly remain as they are now, in print only and not as acted plays.

NANCY STEWART

MERCER UNIVERSITY, MACON, GEORGIA

#### THE PRIORESS' OATH

PROFESSOR LOWES' article, "The Prioress' Oath", published in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW* (Vol. V, 1914, pp. 368-385), although it has achieved a deservedly high place in Chaucerian scholarship, is not satisfactory in one important detail. It fails to give an entirely adequate reason for the prioress' choice of her particular oath, "by St. Loy", and it does not explain why this Saint was, as all authorities agree that he was, in the time of Chaucer everywhere esteemed by the aristocracy.

Prof. Lowes characterized him as "at once, in a word, an artist and a courtier and a saint, a man of great physical beauty, and a lover, in his earlier days, of personal adornment. Yet Prof. Lowes would doubtless agree that St. Loy was not the only "courtier-saint" of the Middle Ages; that his work as a goldsmith might well make him the patron saint of goldsmiths, especially of those engaged in the manufacture of religious articles, but would have small appeal to the nobility; and that his beauty, although it would attract to him the devotion of the sentimental, was surely not a virtue which could be imitated by them.

Prof. Lowes wrote: "And the suggestion that the Prioress used his name because 'she seems to have been a little given to a love of gold and corals' — though it comes, I think, close to the mark — overlooks the really salient point . . . the delicately suggested clash between her worldly and her religious aspirations." He was right in assuming that Chaucer delicately suggested, by means of the rosary of gold and coral, the clash between her worldly and her religious aspirations; but he, also, missed a really salient point when he stated: "And if the courtier-saint were also fair to look upon, and not without a weakness (however ultimately subdued) for personal adornment, his appeal would not thereby be lessened to the nun who paid no small attention to the pleating of her wimple . . ."

All that is true. But was St. Loy the patron saint of the prioress? Or did she have a special devotion to him? It is not necessary for us to decide between these alternatives: whatever her relation with him may have been, her oath by



him is sufficient indication of her regard for him. And the saints not only received the prayers of the worshiper that they might intercede for him at the throne of God, but were also models in heaven whose virtues were imitated by the faithful upon earth. What, then, was the virtue of St. Loy which the prioress imitated? What virtue was imitated by his aristocratic devotees?

We read in the life of St. Loy found in the *Golden Legend*: "At the beginning he was clad with precious vestments of gold adorned with gems and ouches, and wore gilt girdles with precious stones, but under that, on his bare flesh, he wore always the hair." In a sentence already quoted, Prof. Lowes stated that St. Loy was "a lover, in his earlier days, of personal adornment", but in his essay he does not discuss further this aspect of the Saint's character. Yet (although I do not suspect her of wearing a hair-shirt) here, I am convinced, lies the secret of St. Loy's appeal to the prioress and to the aristocracy of her time.

From the Middle Ages come many legends of saints who gave their garments to the poor, but saints who wore hair-shirts beneath rich garments were unusual. Prof. Lowes saw this Saint, in his work as a goldsmith, "lending beauty to the symbols of holiness." In his youth, at least, before he entered definitely the religious life, St. Loy obviously did not regard external luxury as incompatible with internal holiness. In the Middle Ages, the social classes were sharply distinguished: to each, God had assigned definite duties in the world, and it was a sacred duty of the aristocracy to maintain the dignity of its position. The monk and the nun, by their vows of poverty, had renounced the splendors necessary to the aristocratic position; on the other hand, the penances of the monastery and the convent would have been ridiculous to men and women of the Court. Yet upon them also lay the obligation of penance. So to them the youthful St. Loy was a perfect model for imitation. He had maintained the dignity and honors of his position, yet in secret he had practiced penance.

But the youth of St. Loy was not a fit model for those who, like the prioress, had abandoned the world for the privations of the religious life. To the men and women of the aristocracy it was a perfect model, inciting them to secret mortifications of the flesh; but the prioress, vowed to a life of mortifications, used the example of the Saint to justify her for the indulgence in little luxuries, trivial and harmless in themselves, but contrary to the spirit of her religious vows.

CLARENCE L. WENTWORTH

LIMERICK, MAINE

#### THE RETURN OF THE HERO IN EARLY IRISH LITERATURE

THAT hitherto no attention has been called to the return-motif in early Irish literature may be explained by the youth of Irish studies and by the childhood of Irish lexicography. A belief in the return of the departed hero is well known to students of folk-lore, and legends built up on it exist in Germanic, Slavic and Finno-Ugric.<sup>1</sup> The characteristic legend is usually asso-

<sup>1</sup> A. Polyi, *Magyar Mythologia*, 1929, I, 236; II, 368. Cf. J. Bleyer, "Die germanischen Elemente der ungarischen Hunnensage", P. B., XXXI, 1905-06, 429-599.

ciated with the names of Frederick Barbarossa,<sup>2</sup> King Waldemar,<sup>3</sup> or the Transylvanian Chaba (Zuard).<sup>4</sup> The Welsh expectation of King Arthur's return from Avalon has become a commonplace and needs no comment. The hero's return in Irish<sup>5</sup> deserves mention and scrutiny as a manifestation of primitive folk-psychology and as a significant stage of epic evolution.

In the Middle Irish prose-composition, *Siaburcharpat Con Culainn* ("The Phantom-Chariot of Cuchulinn"), the earliest text of which is contained in the *Leabhar na Huidre* ("Book of the Dun Cow"), a MS of 1106,<sup>6</sup> a Christianized version of Cuchulinn's return from the other-world appears. According to Thurneysen,<sup>7</sup> the narrative proper belongs to the 10th century, but an older form of the same legend may be found in the *Brislebh Mor Maige Muirthemme* ("The Great Slaughter of Mag Muirthemme"), version A, 122<sup>b</sup>-123<sup>a</sup>, where Cuchulinn appears to the triumphant Ultonian army at Emain, driving his phantom-chariot through the air.<sup>8</sup> Since this is quoted in paragraphs 26 and 959 in *Cormac's Glossary*, it must go back to the 9th, and probably to the 8th, century.<sup>9</sup> The narrative itself is concerned with St. Patrick's missionary activities, and depicts him as going to Tara<sup>10</sup>

"... to enjoin belief upon the king of Eriu, that is, upon Loegaire son of Niall, for it is he who was king of Eriu at the time: for he would not believe in the Lord, though He had been preached to him. Loegaire said to Patrick: 'I will not believe in thee nor in God, until thou shalt awaken Cuchulinn for me under dignity, as they describe him in the stories, so that I may see him and that I may address him in my presence here; it is after that I shall believe in thee.' 'That is possible for God', says Patrick.

"A messenger comes afterwards from the Lord to Patrick (saying) that they should stand until the morrow upon the wall of the fortress, that is, of Tara, and Cuchulinn would come to them there. It is after this that Loegaire went to converse with Patrick, after the appearance of Cuchulinn to him in his chariot.

"Patrick asked Loegaire whether anything had been revealed to him. 'Something has been revealed to me', said Loegaire, 'and I have not the power for its relating unless thou blessest and unless thou consecratest my mouth.' 'I will not bless thy mouth', said Patrick, 'until I have my request, but I will bless the air which comes out thy mouth so that thou mayest relate the appearance which has been revealed to thee.'

"'Indeed (as I was at going over the Plain of the Chariot... I saw the cold and icy wind which is like unto a double-pointed spear; we narrowly escaped that it did not take the hair off our heads, and that it did not go through us to the earth. I asked Benan about the wind', said Loegaire. 'Benan

<sup>2</sup> K. Wehran, *Die deutschen Sagen des Mittelalters*, 1919, I, 176 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, 1891, 237.

<sup>4</sup> A. Ipolyi, *Magyar Mythologia*, 1929, I, 236-237; II, 368.

<sup>5</sup> For reference to the hero's return in modern Irish folk-tales, see C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, 1908, 163-164 n.

<sup>6</sup> Thurneysen, *Heidensage*, 1921, 567.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 548.

<sup>10</sup> The translations are my own.

said to me that it is the wind of the underworld after its opening before Cuchulinn.<sup>9</sup>

"We saw then a great and heavy fog which fell upon us. I asked Benan also of this heavy fog. Benan said that it was the breath of men and of horses which were traversing the plain before him. Then we saw the great raven-flock above us on high. The land was full of these, and it was among the clouds of heaven that they were because of their altitude. I asked this of Benan. Benan said they were clods from the shoes of the horses which were under (before) the chariot of Cuchulinn.

"As we were there after that we saw the forms of horses through the mist, and of men in a chariot; a swift charioteer behind them at a great altitude; a strong pole; horses which rode paths."<sup>11</sup>

Then Cuchulinn spoke to Loegaire, but the latter doubted his identity. To convince him Cuchulinn related his heroic deeds and performed his "twenty-seven feat-figures whirling aloft over their heads."<sup>12</sup>

Patrick's conjuration of Cuchulinn from the mysterious land of the dead apparently rests upon the primitive belief that it is within the power of a departed hero to revisit the scenes of his earthly exploits. The seemingly Christian inferno, through whose mouth cold winds invade the world of the living, is but an ill-concealed form of the Irish other-world, where departed mortals and supernatural beings congregate, not in complete isolation but in occasional intercourse with the inhabitants of the earth. Essentially, Cuchulinn's return from the land of the dead is based upon the primitive anthropomorphic motif of the personification of the storm and is akin to the notion that the dead ride in the whirlwind.<sup>13</sup> This belief, which has been erroneously thought to be exclusively Germanic,<sup>14</sup> is present in the folklore of all peoples. In classical mythology Cybele<sup>15</sup> and Hecate<sup>16</sup> were thought to be riding in the hurricane, and the well-known Germanic Furious Host or Wild Hunt is based upon the same belief.<sup>17</sup> In Hungarian lore it is Chaba, the youngest son of Attila, whose legend combines the belief in the hero's return and the motif of the aerial ride of the dead.<sup>18</sup> The return of Cuchulinn from the land of the dead in his phantom-chariot may, therefore, be placed in the same category with the medieval legends based upon the primitive belief of the hero's return, and with the even more primitive notion of the personification of the wind. This story belongs to an early stratum of Irish literature. It should be noted that the stubborn belief in the hero's return, which appears in the myths of various European peoples, is not a result of story-migration, but may best be described as a "local"<sup>19</sup> or *oikos-motif*.

<sup>11</sup> From R. I. Best, and O. Bergin (eds.), *Lebor na Huidre*, Dublin, 1929, 278.

<sup>12</sup> "Secht cles li an fichet uasaib etarbuas" (Best and Bergin, 279).

<sup>13</sup> A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, 1930, 79.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> L. Dindorf, and C. Müller (eds.), *Diodori Siculi Bibliotheca*, 1855, 171.

<sup>16</sup> L. Rademacher, "BAYBQ", *Rhein. Mus.* LIX, 1904, 311-313. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopaedie*, VII, 1912, 2771-2776.

<sup>17</sup> H. Hepding, *Attila*, 1903, 124 n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> A. Ipolyi, *Magyar Mythologia*, 1929, I, 236-237; II, 368. Cf. J. Bleyer, "Die germanischen Elemente der ungarischen Hunnensage", *P. B.*, XXXI, 1905-06, 429-599.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, 1930, 79.

Another Irish story concerning the return of a mythical hero from the other-world may be found in the short narrative entitled *Echtra Loegaire* ("The Adventures of Laeghaire"), preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, a MS of 1160. The tale, however, is somewhat older than this date. Another version of it may be found in the 15th-century MS of the *Book of Lismore*. The antiquity of the story seems to be indicated by the fact that it shows no trace of Christian influence. It is a typical narrative of a visit to the Irish other-world, in this instance by the chieftain, Laeghaire mac Crimthann, who descends with his warriors to the bottom of a *loch* to help the fairy king, Fiachna mac Retach, in battle. He defeats the enemy, and

"... that night Fiachna's daughter *Dergreine* was married to Laeghaire, and fifty other women to his fifty warriors, and they remained with them until the end of the year. 'Let us go seek tidings of our land', said Laeghaire then. 'If you desire to return', said Fiachna, 'take horses with you but do not dismount from them.'

"That was done. They started out. There were before them the men of Connacht in a general assembly, who, as the year had expired, mourned for the band whom now all at once they beheld above their heads. The men of Connacht sprang towards them. 'Touch us not,' Laeghaire cried, 'it is to bid you farewell that we have come to you.' 'Leave me not', Crimthann said, 'the kingdom of Connacht be yours. Its silver and its gold, its horses with bridles and its lovely women for your pleasure, only leave me not.'

"Then Laeghaire turned from them and returned to the *sidh* where he exercises joint kingly rule with Fiachna mac Retach, and in the company of Fiachna's daughter, and he has not come out of it as yet."<sup>20</sup>

While the return of Cuchulinn from the other-world is attributed by the Christian scribe to the supernatural powers of St. Patrick, the *Echtra Loegaire* reveals to us the return of the hero in its pristine form. The closest parallel to this uncontaminated heathen-myth concerning the benevolent return of the hero from the land of the dead is offered by the Transylvanian legend of Chaba, first mentioned in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Anonymous Notary of King Béla III, who ruled Hungary from 1172 to 1196.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Chaba it is clearly stated that the hero and his associates return through the air, but in the case of Laeghaire it is impossible to determine the implications of the phrase *condasairnechtar ós a cionn*,<sup>22</sup> "they beheld above their heads." It may mean that the band of other-worldly horsemen appeared on a hill overlooking the valley in which the warriors of Connaught were convened, or that they came riding through the air, similarly to Chaba's return. At all events, the story closely resembles the Welsh legend of King Herla and his retinue,<sup>23</sup> who, after

<sup>20</sup> From S. H. O'Grady, (ed.), *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, I, 257. Cf. the *Book of Leinster* version, printed by T. P. Cross in M. P., XIII, 1916, 731 ff. This has not the closing phrase "and he has not come out of it as yet."

<sup>21</sup> Cf. J. Bleyer, "Die germanischen Elemente der ungarischen Hunnensage", P. B., XXXI, 1905-06, 429-599.

<sup>22</sup> *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, I, 257. Cross (M. P., XIII, 1916, 733) prints this sentence in the *Book of Leinster* version as follows: "Condairnechtar in oendail ar a chind." The same sentence appears in his printing of the *Book of Lismore* version as follows: "Condairnechtar ar a chind" (Cross, M. P., XIII, 1916, 735).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. M. R. James, (ed.), *Walter Map: De nugis curialium*, 1914, 13-16.

a visit to the subterranean realm of the king of the fairies, were transformed into a meandering aerial cavalcade, and were wont to appear perennially over Wales until the first year of Henry II, when they sank into the river Wye.<sup>24</sup> A striking point of similarity between the legends of Laeghaire and Herla is the common occurrence of the fairy king's admonition to the warriors: both Laeghaire and Herla are warned by their hosts not to dismount from their horses while without the limits of fairyland. Granting these points of similarity, and leaving the actual route of Laeghaire's return undecided, it appears that the Irish story contains the *motif* of the return of the hero from the other-world.

The *motif* of the hero's return serves as a literary device to hold together the framework of the longest prose-composition in Middle Irish, next to the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*: the *Acallamb na Senórach* ("The Colloquy of the Ancients").<sup>25</sup> This collection of tales, which is similar to the *Pançatantra*, the *Thousand and One Nights*, and the *Decameron*, is contained in five MSS. The narrative exhibits decided Christian elements; and Thurneysen asserts that its component parts had been put together before 1200.<sup>26</sup> The frame-narrative of this composition represents Ossian, son of Finn Mac Cumall, and Caeilte, son of Crunnchu mac Ronan, as returning more than a 150 years after the battle of Gowra. At Drogedha the two heroes separate: Ossian going northward to seek out his mother, a woman of the *Tutaba Dé Danann*; and Caeilte riding southward with nine warriors toward Tara, in the neighborhood of which he meets St. Patrick. Upon receiving the sacrament of baptism from the Saint, the ten revenants accompany him on his missionary circuit of Ireland, during which time Caeilte tells many pagan stories. Finally they reach King Dermot's court at Tara, where they find Ossian and his retinue. A great feast follows, and both Ossian and Caeilte relate more heroic stories from the half-forgotten past which are taken down by scribes and carried into each province of Ireland. This proves that, before the year 1200, the *motif* of return was well-enough known in Ireland to be used as a literary device.

The land from which the hero returns in these stories is clearly the heathen other-world, an assembly of departed warriors. That the *Siarburcharpat Con Culainn* and the *Echtra Loegaire* seem to contain the basic *motif* of the aerial ride of the departed warriors adduces new evidence to the world-wide character of the Furious Host *motif*.

LESLIE C. TILHANY

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

#### PARDO BAZÁN AND ZOLA: REFUTATION OF SOME CRITICS

CERTAIN Spanish critics are over-patriotic. This makes the reliability of their output comparable in many respects to that of those high-minded authors of the grade-school history-books which we formerly studied. To such patriotic spirits two courses are open: 1) they may condemn violently anyone who ventures to introduce any foreign or new-fangled ideas, invoking

<sup>24</sup> Cf. James, *Walter Map, De nugis curialium*, 1914, 13-16.

<sup>25</sup> The best edition is by Stokes and Windisch in *Ir. Texts*, 1900, IV, 1., which is based upon three 15th, and one 16th, century MSS. The fragments appearing in the 15th century *Book of Lismore* were edited by O'Grady in the *Silva Gadelica*.

<sup>26</sup> *Heidensage*, 1921, 48.



Washington's foreign policy or Cervantes' realism as the ultimate in human wisdom; or 2) they may seek to minimize foreign influence in the thought and writings of their country's great.

Emilia Pardo Bazán has come in for both kinds of treatment. During her lifetime she received a great deal of vituperation for her cosmopolitanism. Later, and especially since her death, there are many who would claim all her glory for Spain by minimizing or condoning as temporary her debt to Zola and the French Naturalists. As an example of the first I shall quote briefly from Cejador y Frauca, author of the voluminous *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana* (1918). Then, in contrast to this, I wish to present the second as represented by José Balseiro in his recent book, *Novelistas españoles modernos* (1933).

To Cejador y Frauca's way of thinking anything brought into Spain from without is necessarily bad; and this to him is the chief defect in the work of Emilia Pardo. He says: "... En *La Cuestión palpitante* (1883) trató con ese feo título el feo naturalismo de Zola... Hay demasía de ligereza extranjera, francesa, mejor diremos, y poco de gravedad castiza española en la manera de tratar ciertos asuntos novelescos... El estilo y lenguaje de doña Emilia, sobre todo, resiente bastante de extranjerismo: es poco castizo... Pongamos juntos a Pereda, a Valera, y a Menéndez y Pelayo, tres amantes de lo español, de la vieja literatura española, del habla castiza: nadie se atreverá de meter en ese corro a doña Emilia; diríase que forma rancho aparte..."<sup>1</sup>

And in summing up the defects of Doña Emilia he attributes them all to her preoccupation with foreign literature, as he says: "... A este descuido en leer libros de antaño o si los ha leído en no aprovecharse más de ellos y de su español realismo, y a este extremado empeño en enterarse de literaturas extrañas, han de achacarse los principales defectos de la insigne escritora..."<sup>1</sup>

Cejador y Frauca is not even willing to admit the greatness of Emilia Pardo Bazán as a literary critic. A few pages farther on he makes this remarkable statement: "La crítica de Pardo Bazán es poco honda y a veces algo parcial; es obra de aficionada, que en todo pica, y tiene talento para salir en todo airosamente... El naturalismo, que fué su tema principal, no parece bien comprendido por la autora y bien se lo dió a entender el mismo Zola. Pereda, Valera, y M. Pelayo fueron en esto harto mas perspicaces..."<sup>2</sup>

A more unfair or prejudiced statement than this would be hard to find. If the reader will open any copy of *La Cuestión palpitante* (1883), he will find at the very beginning a statement by Zola in which he expressly says that Pardo's book is a very good guide to Naturalism. The only thing he cannot understand is that so Catholic a lady should espouse his cause. As for the judgments of Pereda, Valera, and Menéndez y Pelayo, it should be obvious to anyone that Cejador y Frauca merely refers to them because they happen to feel the same way that he does about French Naturalism. To cite Pereda and Valera as having been more perspicacious than Pardo Bazán as regards Zola's movement is ludicrous to say the least, for did not Pereda boast of never having read a French novel, and Valera say he was too lazy to read any Naturalistic novels, — even

<sup>1</sup> Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, IX, 271-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 274.



though he did write a book on the *theory* of Naturalism?<sup>3</sup> As for Menéndez y Pelayo, at least he was big enough to recognize wholeheartedly the real merits of Emilia Pardo's work, both novelistically and scholarly.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast now to Cejador y Franca, who would have us believe the criticism of Pardo Bazán to be amateurish, shallow and prejudiced, let us hear what the great Argentinian critic, Manuel Gálvez, has to say about *La Cuestión palpitante*. In him we have a voice unprejudiced by Spanish patriotism one way or another; he says: "No hay cosa esencial en un autor o doctrina que se le pasa por alto, y así logra darnos una opinión objetiva, imparcial, completa. Sus estudios sobre Zola, Goncourt . . . y algunos otros, me han producido la impresión de lo definitivo, como si en cuanto al juicio crítico no hubiera nada que modificar jamás en ellos. Dijérase la opinión permanente y eterna, la opinión del sentido común y del juicio sano."<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult to imagine how Gálvez could have been so profoundly impressed by the work of a critic who was either amateurish or shallow.

José Balseiro is more subtle and much less obviously prejudiced than the author of the *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*. He has caught something of the greatness that lay in Emilia Pardo Bazán. He appreciates her ability both as a critic and as an author. He extols her impartiality and eclecticism. Those who condemned her by hearsay, having heard that *La cuestión palpitante* is a defense of French Naturalism, should read the book and see for themselves the many things she rejects of Naturalism. They should consult the Preface to her novel *Un viaje de novios*, where she complains that the most successful novels of Zola are those which best satisfy the "curiosidades de baja ley" of his readers. They should come to realize what a great independent spirit was Pardo Bazán and consider that she once termed herself an eclectic. If, in her early novel *La tribuna* (1882), she included some crudities in the French manner, this was far outweighed by the refinement of her later work. That, in brief, is the course of Balseiro's argument.

But the author of *Novelistas españoles modernos* has swung the pendulum too far the other way in his endeavor to free Doña Emilia from the taint of French pollution. His basic error is the same as that committed by Cejador y Frauca; he has assumed that all Zola's influence must necessarily be evil. Thus he says: "Pardo Bazán, pese a su refinamiento aristocrático que se alquitara más y más a lo largo de su vida y de su obra, por rendir tributo en *La tribuna* a ciertos aspectos del naturalismo en boga, describió algún cuadro apuesto, sin llegar a las monstruosidades de un Zola."<sup>6</sup>

The monstrosities of a Zola! That phrase speaks volumes. It reveals Balseiro as still entertaining the popular notion that the chief characteristic of Zola is crudity. It shows that if he *has* had the patience to study Pardo Bazán, he still has not taken the trouble to study Zola. He has taken one step beyond Cejador y Frauca and found that Pardo Bazán did not accept all of Zola's Naturalism. On this evidence he has built a one-sided case, presenting only what

<sup>3</sup> Juan Valera, *Apuntes sobre el nuevo arte de escribir novelas*, 19. — "La pereza me impide leerlas . . ."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the quotation in Pagano, *Al través de la España literaria*, 117-8.

<sup>5</sup> Manuel Gálvez, "Emilia Pardo Bazán", *Nosotros*, XXXVIII, 31-2.

<sup>6</sup> José Balseiro, *Novelistas españoles modernos*, 274.

she rejects of Naturalism and saying nothing of what she favors. Thus, he quotes *La cuestión palpitante* at length, introducing his remarks as follows: "Entresaquemos, de *La cuestión palpitante*, algunos de los numerosos reparos al naturalismo francés. Sólo así se apreciará la amplitud de miras de Pardo Bazán . . ."<sup>7</sup>

as being, along with Tolstoy, one of her "two great men".<sup>8</sup> In another place, upon the occasion of his completion of the 20-volume *Rougon-Macquart* series, she says she has learned more about the world of human affairs in the pages of Zola's novels than in the works of any other author except Shakespeare.<sup>9</sup> Surely How we are to appreciate Pardo's "breadth of vision" merely by reading a list of the faults she finds with Naturalism is not very clear.

If in *La cuestión* Pardo Bazán condemns Zola's physiological man as being too rigorously determined, she also condemns in no uncertain terms the absurd idealisations of the Romanticists. If in *La cuestión*, she condemns Zola's principle of the *absolute* determinism of physical phenomena on human life, she elsewhere, in her collected polemics, accepts a strong *partial* determinism in human affairs. If she misinterprets Zola's idea of the experimental novel, yet she commends the novel as a social study. If she sometimes deplores Zola's excesses as a breach of good taste, she, nevertheless, hotly defends his moral right to be as candid as he so desires. She commends his powerful descriptions, agrees that virtue and vice should not always receive their deserts in literature any more than in life; and, finally, she scoffs with Zola at the idea of keeping young girls in "paradisaical innocence." Surely, there is quite as much *pro-Zola* as *anti-* in the writings of Emilia Pardo Bazán.

I single out Zola from the rest of the French Naturalists because Pardo herself does so. Much of *La cuestión* bears direct evidence of having been based on Zola's *Les Romanciers naturalistes*; and if there are single chapters devoted to Flaubert, the De Goncourts, and Daudet, there are *three* chapters devoted to Zola alone. Abundant evidence could be cited to show that the admiration of Pardo Bazán was very real and long continued. She speaks of him in one place she did not consider the master of Médan as merely the author of "monstrosities".

Not only has José Balseiro not studied Emile Zola, but his study of Pardo Bazán shows signs of haste. He submits to us the Preface to her second novel (*Un viaje de novios*, 1881) as being a statement of her "literary creed". This Preface appeared two years before *La cuestión* and five years before her best novel (*Los Pazos de Ulloa*, 1886); that it should contain her permanent literary creed seems unlikely in the nature of things. Moreover, upon examination of it, one finds that there is much in it which she later came to modify. Notably among other things are some comments on Zola and the French Naturalists. For instance, she remarks that the Naturalistic novels that have attained the most success are not the best ones, but merely the ones with the most to appeal to the public's vulgar curiosity. If she is referring to *L'Assommoir*, — always

<sup>7</sup> José Balseiro, *op. cit.*, 269.

<sup>8</sup> Pardo Bazán, "El Doctor Pascual", in *España Moderna*, (Sept., 1893, 173) — ". . . entrambos (Zola y Tolstoy) son mis dos grandes, excelsos, y incomparables novelistas entre los que viven."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, — ". . . sólo puedo comparar el efecto de su lectura con el de la lectura de Shakespeare . . ."

Zola's best seller — she later came to change her mind, for in her book *El Naturalismo* (1914) she praises *L'Assommoir* as being the novel in which Zola reached his peak of original merit. Furthermore, — and this is even more significant — in this Preface she condemns the interminably long and heavy descriptions characteristic of the Naturalistic school. This judgment she completely reverses two years later in *La cuestión* where she claims Zola's descriptions are his best and strongest point, whereas the truly boring descriptions are to be found in Romanticists such as Walter Scott. Some critics have seen in this shifting a tendency to inconsistency or fickleness on the part of Pardo Bazán. It seems to me, however, that far from being a reliable document, the Preface to this early novel contains merely her first reactions to Naturalism, reactions which she modified later with a more mature judgment. As the Preface is considerably more adverse to Zola and his colleagues than *La cuestión*, to present it as the author's literary creed has the effect of making Pardo appear much less influenced from abroad, — an effect not entirely unsuited to Balseiro's purpose.

Balseiro would have us believe that Pardo was an eclectic, never taking up definitely with any foreign literary fad. To support this argument he has found a beautiful little quotation from her own pen; she says at one point in her essay on Alarcón: "Todo el que lea mis ensayos críticos comprenderá que ni soy idealista, ni realista, ni naturalista, sino ecléctica. Mi cerebro es redondo, y debo a Dios la suerte de poder recrearme con todo lo bueno y bello de todas épocas y estilos."<sup>10</sup>

This sounds very good, indeed; but if one turns to the page from which it is taken, one discovers that the passage is entirely misleading out of its context. Pardo announces herself the adversary of Alarcón not because of her affiliation with any particular literary school, — as a fair critic she prides herself on being able to appreciate the work of *any* literary school — but she opposed him for two reasons. 1) because his defense of Romanticism was out of season in the 1880's; and 2) because he did it in a manner not becoming a gentleman. She says definitely that literature must be in style: "Conozo, eso sí, que no todo estilo es de todo tiempo, y que si hay leyes estables de hermosura, la mas fija es la que impone a la producción artística el carácter supremo del *momento humano* — perdónese la frase — en que fué concibida y ejecutada."<sup>11</sup>

And this is on the very page on which she terms herself eclectic! No, that Pardo Bazán did take up with French Naturalism to a considerable extent there can be no gainsaying. Anyone who will care to analyze her novels written before 1892 will find abundant evidence of their Naturalistic tendency. As during the decade from 1881 to 1891 she is generally admitted to have produced her best work, I do not believe the foreign influence could have been entirely harmful; in fact, there are those who believe the influence of Emile Zola to have been one of the most wholesome elements in Pardo Bazán's growth as a novelist.

All her life Emilia Pardo had to fight against well-meaning but over-

<sup>10</sup> Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, 190. This passage quoted by Balseiro, *Novelistas esp. mod.*, 268-9.

<sup>11</sup> Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, 190.

patriotic individuals who did not believe anything good could come out of France. Indeed, she complained bitterly that the only way to get ahead in her country was to make oneself the "apologist of Spanish immobility". No doubt she would be discouraged to learn that even her friends, such as José Balseiro, are trying now to minimize her awareness of, and debt to, the international literary movements of her time.

DONALD F. BROWN

MISSOURI VALLEY COLLEGE, MARSHALL, MISSOURI

#### DIAMOND OR LOADSTONE? A NOTE ON GUINICELLI

UP to about fifty years ago there had been no doubt in the minds of readers, commentators, and editors of Guido Guinicelli's *canzone* on the nature of love that the word *adamas*, — which, in some texts, occurred in line 30 — meant *diamond*. I say "in some texts" advisedly, for the majority of them, including those given by Valeriani and Nannucci, contained the word *diamante* in the text itself, instead of *adamas*, so that line 30 read:

"com' diamante del ferro in la miniera".

In 1881 this *canzone* was the object of two learned attempts at critical reconstruction: first by D'Ancona and Comparetti,<sup>1</sup> then by Casini.<sup>2</sup> In both cases the line was critically established as

"com' adamas del ferro in la miniera".

This reading was not, in itself, new. But new and unprecedented was D'Ancona's interpretation of the word *adamas*, which he took to mean *loadstone*. In fact, his comment on lines 28-30 runs thus:

"Amore prende stanza, magione, si posa in cuor gentile perchè vi trova somiglianza con sè stesso, come la *preziosa calamita* sta nella miniera del ferro che è di simil natura".

Casini's corresponding gloss is substantially the same, except that he adheres to the traditional acceptance of the word *adamas* as meaning *diamond*.

This meaning, although retained by some subsequent editors of Guido's *canzone*, has invariably been rejected, in favor of that suggested by D'Ancona, by critics who have made special and thorough studies of it, such as Federzoni,<sup>3</sup> Rossi,<sup>4</sup> Pellegrini,<sup>5</sup> and Di Benedetto.<sup>6</sup>

In writing his ample, and in many respects noteworthy, commentary, Federzoni availed himself of all that Nannucci, Puccianti, D'Ancona, and Casini had written on the subject. With regard to the word *adamas*, he is not content with merely accepting the meaning suggested by D'Ancona. He goes farther: he marshals external evidence to prove that no other meaning could be sustained. His explanation is somewhat lengthy, but bears quoting in full, since it states clearly the case for those who have adopted the change from the traditional connotation of the word *adamas*. He writes:

<sup>1</sup> *Le antiche rime volgari secondo la lezione del cod. vat. 3793*, Bologna, 1881, vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Le rime dei poeti bolognesi del sec. XIII*, Bologna, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> *La canzone di G. Guinicelli "Al cor gentile ripara sempre amore"*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1905 (Reprinted in *Nuovi studi e disporti danteschi*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> *Il dolce stil novo (Lectura Dantis)*, Firenze, Sansoni.

<sup>5</sup> "La canzone d'amore di G. G." *Nuovi studi medievali*, I, 1923.

<sup>6</sup> *Rimatori del dolce stil novo*, Torino, 1925.

"Adamas — è la voce lat. *ādāmas-antis*, in provenz. *aziman*. Plinio [37, 15, I] distinse ben sei generi di questa pietra *adamante*, *inter quae*, soggiunge, *est siderites, ferrei coloris, natura etiam ceteris dissimile* (sic) etc. Il Forcellini alla parola *siderites*, *ae*—ha 'Vox graeca, *siderites*, qua significatur lapis magnes: a *sideros*, ferrum, quia ferrum trahit'.

"Onde *adamas* o *siderites* è veram. la *calamita*, come he spiegato bene il D'Ancona, se non che v'ha premesso l'aggettivo *preziosa* che non pare possa servire al senso. Del resto anche senza voler credere che il Guinicelli togliesse questo *adamas* da Plinio, si può ben pensare che ne avesse appreso la notizia da trovatori Provenzali. Folchetto da Marsiglia chiamò con questo nome *Aziman* (nel senso appunto di *calamita*) la sua donna".

But this is all wrong. To begin with, there is not the slightest doubt that Pliny, in the passage indicated by Federzoni, is speaking of the diamond or, at any rate, of some kindred stone. In fact, his opening words are: "Maximum in rebus humanis, non solum *inter gemmas*, pretium habet *adamas*".<sup>7</sup> Shall we say, then, that the loadstone is one of the six varieties of precious stones described by Pliny?

But Federzoni's mistake is not without precedent. It is the same mistake Giovanni Camerte sought to correct four centuries ago when, in his commentary to Solinus' *Polybistor*,<sup>8</sup> he spoke of those who "non advertunt sideriten esse aliud Adamantis genus, ut ex ascriptis Ply. verbis evidens est".

This was evident to the learned monk because he took the trouble to read that part of the chapter in which Pliny states that the *adamas*, of which the *siderites* is but a variety, "dissidet cum magnete lapide in tantum, ut iuxta positus ferrum non patiat abstrahi aut, si admotus magnes apprehenderit, rapiat atque auferat".<sup>9</sup> The authenticity of which phenomenon is vouched for by Ajasson in the following words: "Le diamant s'électrise vitreusement par le frottement sans être isolé. Placé dans la ligne, ou courant magnétique de l'aimant [the magnet], il attire le fer ainsi que lui, et, en conséquence, ne permet pas que ce dernier minéral se porte invinciblement vers l'aimant".<sup>10</sup>

But aside from these considerations, the meaning of *adamas* as diamond is clear not only in Pliny, but likewise in Solinus,<sup>11</sup> in Marbodius,<sup>12</sup> in Albertus Magnus,<sup>13</sup> and in Dante's commentators.<sup>14</sup>

It may be objected that Guinicelli, in his simile, is speaking of a substance which is found in iron mines, and that this substance can only be the magnet, since it is an iron ore. But the authors just mentioned, in the passages cited, state specifically that the diamond may be found in iron mines — above all Albertus Magnus, who says that the *adamas* "non trahit autem ferrum, eo

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, as a matter of fact, treats of the diverse varieties of the *siderites*, as meaning "loadstone", in Bk. 36, ch. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Viennae, 1520. On p. 312 he states likewise: "Graeci enim *sideron* ferrum dicunt. *Sidéron* et *siderón* ferreum. Sicque a colore [*siderites*] nomen habet".

<sup>9</sup> *Naturalis Historiae*, Lipsiz, 1880, Bk. 37, 15.

<sup>10</sup> *L'Histoire naturelle de Plin*, Paris, 1833, T. XX, p. 459. See also *The Natural History of Pliny*, transl. by J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, London, Bohn, 1837, vol. VI, p. 405 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Polybistor*, Lipsiz, 1777, LII, 56 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Migne, *Patrologiae*, Series Lat., 171, col. 1739.

<sup>13</sup> *Opera Omnia*, Paris, 1890-99, V, 30.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Benvenuto da Imola, *Paradiso*, IV, p. 342.



quod sit *proprius locus generationis ejus*" . . . Hence, even on this ground R'Ancona's interpretation cannot stand.

Now, as for the meaning of *adamas* or *aziman* among the Troubadours, it is erroneous to suppose that it was invariably *loadstone*. The fact is, rather, that owing to an etymological confusion of the Greek *adamas*, 'untamable', with the Latin *adamans*, 'having an attraction for', the practice of attributing to the diamond (*adamas*) properties which were true only of the magnet became widespread. Take, for instance, the following lines:

"*Adamas es peyra que vol dire no domabla*" (*Eluc. de las prop.*, fol. 184).

"*La peyra adamas, la qual ni foc ni fer no pot rumpre*" (*Ib.*, fol. 251).

"*A semblant que la peyra adamas atyra'l ferr*" (*Ib.*, fol. 116).

All three are taken from the same work. In the first two, there is no doubt that the substance spoken of is the diamond. Shall we say that in the last line the *loadstone* is meant? Most decidedly no! It is still the same substance, except that it has been accredited with virtues we know it has not. A point to keep well in mind is that, in addition to the etymological confusion mentioned above, there was another confusion engendered by the fact that the diamond has (and Pliny, as we have seen, says so, and rightly) anti-magnetic properties. Now, these neutralizing properties may easily have been taken to indicate that the diamond was magnetically stronger than the loadstone, — hence, as it were, a super-magnet.

Federzoni, in speaking of Folquet de Marseilles, must have had the following lines in mind:

"*Qu'eissamens com l'azimans*

*Tira'l fer e'l fai levar,*"

in which to the *azimans* are attributed the qualities of the magnet. But here is another passage, from the *Roman de Flamenca*,<sup>15</sup> in which *azimans* stands for *diamond*:

"*L'azimans, sitot s'es durs,  
Non es tan simples ni tan purs;  
Car si d'adiman ostas di  
Aures aman*".

So that it is safe to conclude that if Folquet's words testify to anything, they testify to the fallacy then prevalent of attributing to the diamond virtues it did not have. A very convenient fallacy, no doubt, for it permitted the amorous Troubadour to identify in his beloved the magnetism of the loadstone with the preciousness or steadfastness of the diamond by means of one and the same word.

Du Cange<sup>16</sup> gives *adamas* as *aimant* or 'magnet'. To support this meaning he quotes as follows:

<sup>15</sup> P. Meyer's edition, Paris, 1901, vol. I, ll. 2098-2101.

<sup>16</sup> *Gloss. mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Paris, 1840. This passage is followed by the following *addendum* by Carpentier: "Haec sic emenda: Videtur esse Magnes, Gall. Aimant. Vox Graecae originis. At vero nostris olim *Adamas* prius dicebatur *Aimant*, quam vocaretur, *Diamant*; quae utraque vox a verbo *Adamas* originem habet". On the history of *adamas*, see also G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, Paderborn, 1907; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911; Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1925.



"Vita S. Walrici . . . : Hic ergo Sacerdos, juxta Prophetam in Templo Dei lapis est vivus in aedificio Dei appellatus, qui recte, ut audio Adamanti lapidi pretioso comparatur, cujus natura talis est, ut quidquid adspexerit, ipsum ferrum ad se subtrahat".

Here again the same fallacy occurs, for the substance in question is undoubtedly the diamond, as indicated by the adjective *pretioso*. Consider that "adamanti lapidi pretioso": Is not D'Ancona's expression "*preziosa calamita*" very reminiscent of it? Indeed, he seems to have translated it literally, taking, of course, as did Du Cange himself, *adamanti lapidi* to mean *calamita*.

But my contention that to the *adamas* had been attributed magnetic properties, without thereby identifying it with the loadstone, is most incontrovertibly borne out by Albertus Magnus' words. After defining the *adamas* as "lapis durissimus, parum crystallo obscurior, coloris tamen lucidi fulgentis," he adds: "Non trahit autem ferrum . . . ut quidam mendose dixerunt". And again: "Hunc autem lapidem diamantem etiam quidam vocant, etiam quidam ferrum attrahere mentiuntur".

Note that he does not say that the diamond, or *adamas*, had been confused with the magnet. On the contrary, he states specifically that certain magnetic properties had falsely been attributed to the diamond.

Let us return now to our learned Guinicelli. His simile runs as follows:

"Amore in gentil cor prende rivera  
per so consimil loco  
com'adamas del ferro in la minera".

In it, what does Guinicelli do if not echo the words of the *Doctor universalis* to the effect that the iron *est proprius locus generationis adamantis*? The noble heart, he says in substance, is *proprius locus generationis amoris*, even as the iron mine is of the diamond.

That such was the sense intended to be conveyed is further proven, — if further proof were necessary — by the fact that three of the codices containing Guinicelli's *canzone* have introduced variants with the word *diamante* in line 29:

"Comel diamante loco  
Che dello ferro tiene la maniera" (*Laur. plut.*, 90).  
"Come il diamante  
Che da lo ferro tene la minera" (*Magl.*, VII, 1208).  
"Comol diamante loco  
Chadde lo ferro tene la mainera" (*Pal.*, 418).

These readings, of course, have been rejected in all the critical editions of the *canzone*, but, nevertheless, they are significant, for they show that at least one of the copyists understood the simile to involve the diamond.

It seems, therefore, that enough has been said to prove that the interpretation of *adamas* as 'loadstone' is erroneous, and that its traditional connotation must be restored.

In closing I may also mention the fact that Pellegrini, whose text and commentary have been hailed as definitive, adheres to D'Ancona's explanation of the word *adamas*, even to the point of retaining the adjective *preziosa*, which Federzoni rightly considered absurd when used to describe the loadstone. Di Benedetto is satisfied with merely quoting Pellegrini.

NEW YORK

S. EUGENE SCALIA

## ABBÈ ARTEAGA AS A CRITIC OF ALFIERI'S MYRRHA

THE critique that Abbé Arteaga, at the behest of Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi, wrote of Alfieri's tragedy *Myrrha*<sup>1</sup> is interesting for two reasons. The first is of a merely antiquarian character and consists of the fact that defective, partial, full of *animus nocendi* as Arteaga's critique may appear to us, it represents, nevertheless, the earliest important attempt at examining, designedly and in minute detail, one of Alfieri's most beautiful, difficult and complex creations.

The second reason is that it affords an excellent opportunity for the criticism of criticism. In the light of succeeding critical conquests, of subsequent enlargements of the range of vision, of the gain of — so to speak — new trigonometric points by which to survey the tragic field of *Myrrha*, it is only too easy to scoff at the Spanish abbot, "kneaded with salpêtre and sulphur", who, armed with malicious *Schadenfreude* but with a primitive critical astrolabe, was not afraid, though flying in the face of the most dangerous of antagonisms — feminine derision — to sight the magnitude of the zenithal star of Alfieri. Such scoffing would be all the more unfair now as, in retrospect, the fresher and more adequate view of *Myrrha* that a modern reader is privileged to enjoy, the final distillation of critical essences that he may, as it were, hold in a small phial in his hands, is the product of the labors, blunders, strayings and rectifications of more than a century of critical comment.

It behooves the modern critic to look closely into Arteaga's animadversions, not for the purpose of applying the standards of an age not his own to him, and holding him responsible for missing certain marks that were set up by a later epoch; but because of the instructiveness deriving from an ascertainment of why and how he muffed or scored certain points. The causes of his strictures missing their objective are of an ethico-psychological and theoretical character.

Arteaga's observations are grouped under two captions: the theme in itself and the manner of its treatment. He cannot reconcile himself to the incestuous theme of *Myrrha*. The more he considers it, the more it seems to him unfit for the stage. (In this respect there is perfect agreement between him and Alfieri who writes:<sup>2</sup> "She [Myrrha], no less than Byblis, always seemed to me a subject unsuited to the tragic stage.") A daughter consciously burning with love for her father is horrible. Arteaga's anti-laxism, whose psychological roots are evident in his defensive attitude as an exiled Jesuit against the age-old charges of probabilism made against his order, comes to the fore in the citation of the typical maxim that in cases like that of *Myrrha non datur parvitas materies*. His imagination cannot conceive for a single instant how *Myrrha*'s transitions from resistance to weakness can be reconciled with her innocence. Here Jesuitic casuistry marches hand in hand with the moral practice of the closing 18th century, with the "delicacy required by its fastidious taste"; illuministic squeamishness blends beautifully with Ignatian *Scheinheiligkeit*. "The least allusion, the smallest nuance at which public decorum takes umbrage, is intolerable to the hearers."

<sup>1</sup> Lettera dell' Abate Arteaga intorno alla *Mirra*, tragedia del Conte Alfieri, in *Ritratti scritti da Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi*, Venice, 3rd ed., Tipografia Alvispoli, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Alfieri, *Vita*, IV, 14.

Out of the insuperable difficulty of the subject Arteaga constructs the following alternatives: "Will Myrrha resist always and constantly her love so that not even a shade of weakness appears? If she does she will show a lack of inner conflicts, her character will be pale, uniform, cold. — Will she yield to her passion and compromise with it? Then she will be immoral, scandalous, and, therefore, incapable of arousing interest. — Will she hide her devouring ardor so that both the person who is the object of it and her ardor itself are unknown to the spectators? In this case the state of her heart will become a riddle for the audience which, not understanding its motive, will be plunged into uncertainty and doubt, and its compassion will not find a single point to which to cling. — Will she make a spontaneous confession of her terrible secret? If this occurs the spectators' mood will change immediately from aimless wandering sympathy to stark horror."

Throughout this passage the equation, moral=interesting, immoral=uninteresting, runs like a red thread. Here again we must notice that Arteaga's rigorously moralistic attitude is not in the least discrepant with that of Alfieri. Porena remarks: "The feeling for moral truth is innate, immanent, always present in Alfieri's spirit, as much as is the truth of logic or of reality; no artistic image becomes concrete in his intelligence which does not arise spontaneously, instinct with the conditions and rules of moral truth . . . Morality, more than the aim, is the essence of Alfieri's art; ethics equal aesthetics."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the starting point of Arteaga is, abstractly considered, right. He places himself in the same position as Alfieri.<sup>4</sup> If we do not want to *irasci*, nor to *flere*, but to *intelligere*, we must start with the triad so characteristic of the Astigiano: art=morality=interest. The trouble begins when Arteaga adopts the concept of *mesotes*, in the form it assumes in the Aristotelian Poetics in the passage where the requisites of the "ideal" tragic hero are specified. "The character and nature of compassion", Arteaga writes, "demand that the hero possess qualities which render him partly guilty and partly innocent. Were he totally guilty he would arouse but aversion; were he totally innocent he would arouse hatred against destiny, he would cause us to abhor the fate of mankind, condemned to commit crimes in which its will has no part."

We said that Arteaga's observations are grouped under two captions: the theme in itself, and the manner of its treatment. It is extremely significant that between the two captions Arteaga does not feel the slightest obligation to insert what it would be only too natural to insert: a set of observations dealing with the elaboration, the transformation of the theme on the part of the poet. This is characteristic of the *dualist* aesthetics which is at the basis of Arteaga's criticism; for him, on one side is content, on the other is form; the hypostatical change they are bound to undergo through the imaginative treatment of the artist is completely disregarded. Equally characteristic of his dualist aesthetics is the fact that he seems to identify form with technique, as the observations grouped under the caption, "manner of its (the theme's) treatment", are mainly relative to plot-construction.

<sup>3</sup> M. Porena, *V. Alfieri e la tragedia*, Milan, U. Hoepli, 1904, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Cet esprit si indépendant, se croyant né sous la législation d'Aristote, ne songea jamais à l'ébranler" (Sismondi, *Litt. du Midi de l'Europe*, Brussels, Dumont, t. I, p. 142).

Stereotypedly Aristotelian is Arteaga's view of the manner in which dramatic interest may be aroused. "The study of the human heart teaches us that dramatic interest can only be aroused through exciting in us, by means of the representation of a figment, a true feeling, a compound of compassion and terror, for the tragic hero." The fact that Arteaga *jurat in verba Aristotelis* (although there is a certain faint justification for this in view of the circumstance that in *Myrrha* the mainsprings of tragic emotion are exactly compassion and terror) and his naïvely inductive turn of mind, prevent him from seeing that, in Alfieri's poetics, a new element has been added to the classic Aristotelian elements of tragic emotion, — that of *admiration*. It is on the strength of the discovery of such an important element that subsequent critics have spoken of the similitude of Alfieri's poetics with that of Corneille. Corneille (*Examen de Nicomède*) sees in the admiration felt for virtue a means of catharsis possibly more certain than that which Aristotle prescribes for tragedy, — purgation through compassion and fear.

The reason why Arteaga does not penetrate to the core of Alfieri's poetics, and does not attain to the discovery of the third element, is due to his rationalistic, abstract *Denkmethode*. We saw that Arteaga's starting-point, the equation, art=morality, was, in regard to Alfieri, right. But this starting-point remains abstract. "The unity, in a certain sense objective, which is evident in the work of Alfieri, is its moral aim. But this moral aim in its generality, in its abstract form, is not a content capable of assuming directly and immediately an aesthetic form . . . . If the work of art be such as to square with the contentions of morality, doubtless its value will be greater for the person who professes that morality; but a form corresponding *per se* to the moral principle as an objective content is meaningless. We will not have an aesthetic ideal unity if this moral principle in its abstractness is not incarnated in an objective representation, in an idea. This objectification of the moral principle, it may be confidently asserted, does take place in Alfieri; the moral principle in him is incarnated in the idea of *strong will*. Man, master of himself, and possessed of a strong will; this is the soul of his tragedy."<sup>5</sup>

Arteaga utterly misses the mark when he states that "Alfieri presents Myrrha to us in love with Cynirus, whom she knows to be her father, presents her openly declaring her love to him, shows her ferociously jealous of her mother, sacrificing a fervent and true lover whom she had promised to marry, and contaminating the nuptial rites; and, in spite of all this, he would like to foist Myrrha off as a character so virtuous and innocent that, as he puts it, even the sternest mother in the strictest country of Europe could take her daughters to the play without fearing that they might receive from it any sinister impression." The dualist aesthetics which causes him to concentrate his attention merely on the two categories, theme and technique, making him entirely disregard the process of imaginative elaboration whereby the crude datum, whether taken from contemporary reality, history, or legend, suffers a magic art-change, makes Arteaga overlook the very important fact that in Alfieri's *Myrrha* the theme is not Myrrha's incestuous love (which constitutes the crude datum supplied by classic legend), but her struggle against that love<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Porena, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-91.

<sup>6</sup> Porena, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

(the magic art-change which the datum undergoes at the hands of Alfieri), and the admiration aroused by the combat between her will and her fatal passion. The antithetical problem formulated in *Myrrha* (the co-existence in her of ethos and guilt), whose solution completely escapes Arteaga's grasp, finds its illumination in the introduction of the two categories, — will, and admiration aroused by the testing of its genuine mettle and worth in the conflict with unethical impulses. By failing to pay any attention to the poet's imaginative elaboration of the datum furnished by legend, Arteaga could not penetrate to these two categories. He must, to tell the truth, have had an inkling of that elaboration when, referring to Ovid's expression, "O, dixit, felicem conjugem matrem!" [an expression imitated by Alfieri in his, "O madre mia felice! almen concesso — a lei sarà di morire al tuo fianco,"] he observes that, in Ovid, *Myrrha* speaks to her nurse, and then succumbs to her crime, that Ovid is coherent in having *Myrrha* do this since he never intended her to be innocent, whereas in Alfieri's drama *Myrrha* has the courage of declaring her love to her father, and the poet, that of claiming that the hearers, after such a declaration, do not lose any of their interest in her. Thus, Arteaga barely grazes an important truth, *i. e.*, that the imaginative treatment given by Alfieri to the figure of *Myrrha* completely differentiates her from Ovid's conception; a truth that was very fertile in the development of subsequent *Myrrha* criticism, affirming as it does Alfieri's originality.

As a recent critic, Nicola Impallomeni, aptly states: "Between the *Myrrha* of Alfieri and that of Ovid there is an abyss. The two characters were conceived in a diametrically opposite manner. The latter is heinous and despicable, the first excites our admiration to the highest degree through the strength of her temperament, the vigor of her volition, the immaculate purity of her soul, dauntlessly resisting the onsets of passion up to the last moment. If Alfieri can be termed the debtor of Ovid because of having drawn from the *Metamorphoses* the idea of his tragedy, his debt may be limited to the merely material source."<sup>7</sup>

A curious case of the heteronomy of aims is supplied by the fact that while Arteaga strives hard to demonstrate the *non tragediabilità* of *Myrrha*, and states that the ancients did not dare to put such a subject on the stage (whereas they did not stop short of incestuous themes such as *Cedipus*, since *Jocasta* is not aware that he is her son, nor *Cedipus* that she is his mother, the immorality of the plot being thereby greatly decreased), he collaterally, but quite distinctly, establishes a line of demarcation and differentiation between Alfieri and Racine. How important this is only he knows who is familiar with the great polemic of 1855 between Italian and French critics *a propos* of Alfieri's originality, a problem that came up with sharp accentuation during the performances of *Myrrha* given in Paris by the theatrical company headed by Adelaide Ristori.

Arteaga writes: "Phædra, it is true, tires to induce Hippolitus to love her; but only after the supposed death of Theseus, when her widowhood seemed to give her a specious right to speak of love to someone not her husband. The case of *Myrrha* is different. Neither the daughter, who, unlike *Cedipus*, knows her father and is known by him, nor the spectator who sees and knows, can

<sup>7</sup> Impallomeni, "La Mirra di V. Alfieri", *Rivista d'Italia*, Anno VI, Fasc. X, Oct., 1903, p. 624.



imagine for a moment that the declaration of love is not polluted by a great guilt, by an unforgivable crime — unless one supposes that Myrrha has become insane, or that she acts totally without moral liberty, in which two cases her deed would not be imputable to her." Although arrived at by a devious path, this realization of Arteaga's that Phædra and Myrrha are different creatures bears an important fruit in De Sanctis' statement that "an infinite distance separates Phædra from Myrrha." Arteaga's is no more than a passing hint, a transitory touch (Phædra tries to induce Hippolitus to love her) which he could not develop because, as we saw, he had totally missed the meaning of Myrrha's figure in Alfieri's drama; but it is not hard to perceive, in that passing hint, the remark that Phædra discloses her passion to Hippolitus early in the play; the *sous-entendu* contrast being "whereas Myrrha conceals her passion up to the very end". This is the germ that could have led, if supported on an anti-dualist, idealistic aesthetic system (a system, namely, in which the *moment*<sup>8</sup> utterly neglected by Arteaga, *i. e.*, the imaginative elaboration of the crude datum, has a fundamental importance) to the following, one of the keenest formulations in the entire history of Myrrha criticism. "Alfieri's Myrrha ends where Racine's Phædra begins. The revelation of her passion made by Phædra is Racine's starting point; in Alfieri such a revelation is the catastrophe. Racine has as his field the whole story of a guilty passion in all its gradations, starting from the moment in which it becomes known. Alfieri has as his field the obscure, intermittently flashing story of an abominable passion up to the moment in which it becomes known."<sup>9</sup> In the perception, even if obscure and passing, of the difference between Alfieri and Racine, Arteaga was evidently miles in advance of the presumptuous Janin, who, to De Sanctis' amazement, confused two situations of such a different character.

The mechanistic cast of Arteaga's criticism is flagrant when, asserting that Myrrha must be judged according to the aim intended by her creator, and the means employed by him, he forgets to include in his examination the problem of ascertaining the essence of Myrrha (not to speak of the essence of the general theory of poetry in Alfieri), and when he postulates for tragedy a pragmatic aim (*purificatio morum*), and having ascertained that such an aim is absent in Myrrha, casts about for a different one which he finds in Alfieri's intention to inspire the spectators with a passionate interest in Myrrha. Arteaga says: "Alfieri meant to compose a tragedy pertaining to the genre which the ancients termed the 'pathetic', not to the ethic." We saw that as a consequence of the Aristotelian fallacy (the dichotomy content-form) he misunderstands the essence of Alfieri's tragedy. Here the result of the wrong aesthetic premise is devastating; it leads Arteaga to ignore the profound ethicalness of Myrrha, and to found his whole series of deductions on shifting sands.

Let us now follow Arteaga in his discussion of the means (to which, as we saw, he attaches the meaning of technical contrivances) by which Alfieri compasses what, according to his critic, is his aim: the arousal of a feeling of passionate interest in Myrrha. "Good criticism and common sense teach us that such means must be natural, necessary, conformable to our intelligence and to the idea which we have at present of vice, virtue, and the nature of

<sup>8</sup> I am using this term in the Hegelian sense.

<sup>9</sup> De Sanctis, *Saggi critici*, a cura di G. Lazzeri, Milan, Sonzogno, p. 89.



passions." In respect to this statement Arteaga stumbles so heavily that he barely misses breaking his critical neck. And the reason is clear — it is enclosed in the rhetorical controversy known as that of the *merveilleux*. Alfieri introduces in *Myrrha* the motif of the "wrath of Venus", caused by Cecris' (Myrrha's mother) pride, intending it to be a symbol of the antique *Ananke*, of the fatal force of passion against which Myrrha pits her indomitable moral will. "Alfieri, writes Arteaga, believes that by introducing this motif he may cause the spectator to love and pity Myrrha. This motif would certainly produce such an effect if it could find among modern spectators easy credence. But the trouble is that such inventions, based on odd and preposterous notions about the deity, and on celestial punishments carried out through atrocious crimes, no longer convince us because our opinions about these matters have utterly changed." And he continues: "Alfieri's makeshift, Venus' wrath, is arbitrary, all his own; he makes the spectators feel less indulgent, and deprives himself of the only plausible pretext which remained to him in order to revive ideas which are today considered false, devoid of verisimilitude, baseless." The antifatalistic Catholic attitude is at play here; but in the literary-critical domain Arteaga is willing to make a tight-fisted concession: "Mythological and fatalistic ideas have served and may serve as a foundation for many widely famed tragedies, such as Phædra, Œdipus, Iphigenia. But mind you; in such and similar tragedies the fact, no less than the circumstances, is supported by a general and constant tradition, which, handed over to us from century to century and enhanced by the prestige of the stage, acquires, as it were, the rights of historical credibility." A sort of application of the juridical criterion of the *longi temporis possessio* to the problem of tragic composition!

The emphasis which Arteaga lays on tradition is obviously due to his ecclesiastical upbringing and background, whereas in the accentuation he gives to the baselessness of the fatalistic notions may be perceived a reflection of the illuministic, rationalistic temper, of the intellectual atmosphere which he breathed. This causes him to consider the introduction of the supernatural in *Myrrha* as an anti-rational, not an anti-aesthetic intrusion. The error that he commits in asserting that here, in *Myrrha*, the makeshift is arbitrary, and makes the spectators want to be less indulgent, has its reason in the Aristotelian poetics, postulating the dichotomy content-form, which, as we showed, causes him to disregard imaginative elaboration and to misconceive the theme of Alfieri's drama (not incestuous love, but the struggle against incestuous passion). He is blind to the fact that, as Porena phrases it, "in *Myrrha* the supernatural does not spoil anything because it is not employed as a substitute for a psychological process which has the function of explaining. The reader is not at all concerned with the question of how Myrrha can be capable of such a nefarious love for the simple reason that the psychological subject-matter chosen by the poet is not that love. It matters not whether that passion be Venus for the mythologist, Satan for the Christian, degeneracy for the physiologist. It exists, and that is enough."<sup>10</sup>

Having committed the blunder Arteaga takes full responsibility for it and drives it to the ultimate deductions. "The manner in which Alfieri introduces fatalism mars", he writes, "or rather, sets in contradiction with itself, the char-

<sup>10</sup> Porena, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

acter of Myrrha's mother. How can her extreme goodness of nature be reconciled with the impious pride which causes her to publicly despise the cult of the goddess? And, besides, such haughtiness was not needed by the poet to accomplish his aim."

Thereupon Arteaga wanders into deplorable superficialities unworthy of the *acumen hispanicum*. "Suppose that Alfieri had depicted Myrrha as Euripides depicts Hyppolitus, as Tasso, in his *Amyntas*, represented Sylvia; very chaste, spurning all *galanterie*, even nuptials; somewhat haughty, but of a virtuous haughtiness, *i. e.*, more devoted to Minerva than to Venus. Then Venus' wrath would have a motive partially justified by her jealousy of her rival, and by the maxim expressed by Guarini:

"Non piace ai sommi dei  
L'aver compagni in terra  
Nè piace a lor della virtude ancora  
Tanta alterezza."

Punishment would fall on the person who had offended her, not on an innocent one. Cecris would continue to be very good-natured, not impious; Myrrha would suffer for a reason in which were mingled much virtue and some imprudence; she would appear worthier of compassion and more tragic."

I surmise that in writing such nonsense Arteaga thought of the purgation, or rather expurgation, of passions; it is difficult to repress a sneer in reading this project of bowdlerization.

This must not, however, close our eyes to the fact that Arteaga, although entirely missing the range and significance and function of the motif of the wrath of Venus, was the first to realize its importance in the general plan of the tragedy, and to suspect that on its interpretation hinges the interpretation of the whole play. The realization that this *motif* destroys Myrrha's responsibility and makes her appear less heinous and criminal was evidently in his mind when he wrote that this *motif* is the "only circumstance which could save the protagonist from inspiring hatred and horror."

Arteaga deals at length with the problem of suspense, which stands in the foreground of the tragedy, and about which he sets forth an objection that must be carefully weighed.

"Not a single word of the play, from the beginning up to almost the end of the fifth act gives the slightest evidence that Myrrha is in love with her father. We are not even able to find out whether love is the cause of her sorrow. But the silence of Myrrha produces an entirely different effect from that intended by the poet. Uncertainty makes a riddle of Myrrha's moods. Since the readers are not cognizant of her guilty passion they do not know the most essential circumstance, the one most likely to produce terror and pity; terror, born from the sight of her illicit flame, pity, born of seeing the efforts she makes to counteract her passion, efforts that are proportionate to the enormity of her crime. Hence the emotions aroused cannot but be hypothetical, indeterminate, as hypothetical and indeterminate appears the sorrow of Myrrha. Even if her grief, in a way, holds our interest this is not due to the poet's art but to the legend widely known to all, so that everybody, upon hearing the name of Myrrha, knows what the plot is about. But let the title be changed, let the play be called, for example, *Amaryllis*; let it be considered without any

relation to the mythological tale. I am willing to wager that out of a hundred who read the play less than four will be in a position to understand before reaching the last scene of the fifth act with whom, how, and when she has fallen in love."

Let us first of all remark, in extenuation of Arteaga, that he speaks in the above passage of "readers", not of spectators. Now, we know well that *Myrrha* has something of the character of a musical *canovaccio*. The first, as far as I know, who attracted attention to this important fact was Henri Blaze de Bury. He writes: "The musicians of the ancient Italian school, the Durantes, Leos, Pergoleses, instead of marking down every small detail of their compositions as do the musicians of today, were satisfied with sketching a situation and leaving to the inspiration of the singer the task of developing it. The rôle of *Myrrha* gives the most exact idea of this procedure. Thus, Mme Marchionni, and after her Mme Ristori, have incontestably created, in the poetical acceptance of the term, the great rôle of *Myrrha*, of which Alfieri had given only a bare outline."<sup>11</sup> De Bury here strikes a very important note, but he goes too far when he asserts that "all the impressiveness of the effect depends upon the interpretation." It would be unfair to charge Arteaga with blindness to the interpretative values of *Myrrha* when he was judging the tragedy merely after reading it. De Bury himself confesses to having read the play twice and having remained cold. It is also known that the violent emotions that used to overcome Byron when witnessing the performances of *Myrrha* were totally absent when he perused the text by himself.

Arteaga's merit consists in having been the first to formulate this question: "How does Alfieri solve the problem of keeping hidden the secret of *Myrrha* up to the very end of his play, and simultaneously keeping alive the interest of the spectators?" His negative verdict does not detract from his merit in having formulated the question and having stimulated critical contradiction, investigation, interpretation.

The Spaniard charges Alfieri with scarcity of action. He shows thereby what a shallow notion he has of dramatic action. It has been observed that in *Myrrha* the famous Alfierian antithesis, tyrant-tyrannized: oppressor-oppressed, is implanted in a single character, becomes purely inward, since *Myrrha* is brought to her end by the atrocious fight of a two-headed monster tearing at her breast. As for the lack of interest which, according to Arteaga, would result from the readers' ignorance of the cause of *Myrrha*'s grief, and their inability, almost up to the end, to penetrate her secret, let us hear what Paul de Saint-Victor, the most sagacious among the French critics who wrote about the Ristori performances, has to say on the subject: "During three long acts she remains thus brooding, gloomy, exhausted, sullen, pale with stifled ardor, with a hand on her wounded heart, a finger on her lips twitching with repressed sobs, or twisted by a sad and empty smile. The effect is overwhelming; I don't know of anything more dramatic than that tortured soul, stubbornly clinging to its muteness, mulling over its impious secret in a black silence. One has a presentiment of this secret, one penetrates to it; ambiguous words weaving through the obscurity of her sentences let one divine it although it is not yet

<sup>11</sup> H. Blaze de Bury, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XXV année, seconde série de la nouvelle période, tome XIe, 1855, p. 878.

disclosed. Meanwhile the mind of the spectator is filled with anguish, he becomes acclimated to the sulphureous atmosphere that gradually invades the drama; he feels that he is in the cave of the daughters of Lot; he becomes accustomed to its darkness, its horror, he glimpses the incest hiding in its depths, in its murkiest shadows, and prepares himself for the sight of it. In the fourth act the storm bursts with tremendous violence."<sup>12</sup>

However, Arteaga is to be excused if he saw only paucity and slowness of progression where the French critic perceived the unarrestable steady march of a demonic force. His reproaching Alfieri for "his stubbornness in sealing the manifold fountains of variety that would gush forth from the full knowledge of Myrrha's secret" testifies to his unawareness that "le secret d'ennuyer est celui de tout dire", and to the prejudiced obtuseness of his artistic sensitivity, which prevented him from perceiving that underground quivering of "unexpressed emotion rising in the lines of Alfieri",<sup>13</sup> where, and not in loud deeds full of strife and clangor, signifying nothing, his true poetry lies.

\* \* \* \*

"What shall we say", Arteaga remarks, "about that horrible and extraordinary expression which escapes from Myrrha's lips in scene VII, act IV? Shall we classify it among the means used by Alfieri to render her interesting? Myrrha addresses her mother in this unheard-of manner:

"Tu prima, tu sola,  
Tu sempiterna cagione funesta  
D'ogni miseria mia!"

"Could Medea, infuriated against her rival Creusa, more openly vent her spite and rage? Alfieri maintains that such an outburst is verisimilar and natural. It doubtless is, given the violence of Myrrha's passion. But is it decent? Is it *effective* on the stage? Is it more likely to inspire pity or shivers of horror? You readers who have studied Voltaire, Metastasio and Racine, you who have an honest and delicate soul, answer."

Leaving out the moral question and the debate as to whether the famous scene of Myrrha's jealousy is more likely to inspire pity or horror, Arteaga's question as to the theatrical effectiveness of the scene is most satisfactorily answered by Paul de Saint-Victor who gives us an account of the reactions of the audience during the Paris performances in 1855. "A fever of emotion reigned in the house: all hearts were tuned to the sublime *diapason* of the actress. People were crying, exclaiming, applauding."

\* \* \* \*

The height of incomprehension is reached by Arteaga in his evaluation of the famous scene II, act V, in which Myrrha declares her love to her father. "The declaration of Myrrha seems to me revolting. First, because it is made to his face, whereas it would be far more decent and delicate that her father should learn her secret not from his daughter's lips but from Euriclea, the nurse, to whom Myrrha might have previously confided it. Alfieri thought, by so doing, to save the virtuousness of Euriclea, but in order to avoid blackening the reputation of a subordinate character he has rendered the protagonist

<sup>12</sup> Adelaide Ristori, *Ricordi e studi artistici*, Edition 2, Turin, L. Roux, 1888, pp. 334-35.

<sup>13</sup> A. Momigliano, *Commentary on Mirra*, Vallecchi, Florence, 1923, p. 10.

impious. Second, because the confession is couched in terms that lead one to believe that in confessing she yields to the crime."

These statements contain three errors. In the first place, Arteaga utterly misunderstands the crucial, catastrophic function of this scene in the general economy of the play. The scene of the confession is the culmination of the whole tragedy, the pyramidal point towards which all the others aspire; one has to be utterly blind to this important fact to wish that it might be expunged from the play, and that this tragic situation *par excellence*, the only scene in the play in which Myrrha is alone, face to face with her father, might be prudishly avoided, by having Myrrha previously confide her secret to her nurse who would transmit it to her father. Momigliano, in his masterly analysis of this scene, sets forth its essential significance in words that cannot be improved upon. "Pereus (Myrrha's fiancé) has killed himself; and Myrrha, having lost one of her two hopes, trembles in the fear that the second, also, will be taken from her by some hostile force. Alone with Cynirus, with no longer the aid of a third person to divert her mind from its dominating thought, tortured by a passion which every circumstance has conspired in embittering, stunned by the fatal convergence of the presentiments of her nurse beseeching the goddess of love and of her vainly repressed passion, pursued and disarmed by the questions of her father, turn by turn inflexible and affectionate, almost giving her secret away through an ever-increasing distress which she can neither deny nor explain, Myrrha finally yields, discloses her secret and kills herself. The scene is so full of anguish that even in this moment she seems more a victim than a sinner. The dialogue alternates feverishly between reticence and impulsiveness, held back by conscience and overwhelmed by passion; nothing is so agonizing as this last battle in which even her father, through the inexorable force of the action, with an unconscious cruelty, pursues and presses his daughter on every side, irritates and inflames her passion, pushes her to her ruin . . . The logical coherence of this scene is cruel: everything is concatenated and turns against Myrrha; one sentence leads to another, ever more trepidating and open: to draw back from the precipice is now impossible, and it is in vain that Myrrha beseeches her father twice to let her flee."<sup>14</sup>

In the second place Alfieri is not in the least concerned with saving Euriclea's reputation, and, therefore, Myrrha's confession can not be motivated by such a concern. Alfieri's lack of interest in secondary personages is well known. One of the cardinal principles of his dramatic reform hinges on the diminution of the rights too liberally bestowed upon secondary characters by French tragic writers. Thirdly, Myrrha's suicide voids the contention advanced by Arteaga that her words seem to indicate that she is yielding to her passion. Her redemption by voluntary death that marks the catastrophe of the play clearly points to the contrary.

More to the point is Arteaga's affirmation that among the subordinate characters of the tragedy none by his force, his individual traits and intrinsic life stands out. "The author admirably characterizes them when he says that in delineating them he has been obliged to show himself unusually long-winded, garrulous, superficial." This is admitted by all of Alfieri's critics. What is important is the implication involved in the reversal of this judgment, not

<sup>14</sup> Momigliano, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.



openly expressed by the Spaniard: namely, that, in contrast with the lifeless, bloodless, conventional figures surrounding her, the character of Myrrha juts out in magnificent solitude. Had Arteaga taken the trouble to go deeper into this concept he would have discovered one of the leading themes of *Myrrha* (and for that matter, of the whole Alfierian theatre), that of the solitude of the hero; a concept that marks an important critical conquest, and which, formulated for the first time by Paul de Saint-Victor ("Solitude more tragic than the desert where the Myrrha of the legend comes to die and is transformed into an aromatic tree"), has been unanimously adopted and is currently made use of, enlightening a great deal the psychology of the central characters of Alfieri's theatre.

NEW YORK

ELIO GIANTURCO

#### ENGLISH IN NEAPOLITAN<sup>1</sup>

IT is not my purpose here to deal with macaronic English or English "à la Neapolitan" as belabored by illiterate Neapolitans mostly in this country, and as exemplified by the author of 'A 'Ngresa e l'Auseskip:

. . . "Lei Gud moni mist siir aise shippe  
Lui Gud moni gud moni mist ledi  
Lei Ev iu gar eni floor mò redi  
Lui A gar redi tre mò ruums fò iù.  
Everì tingh an fronte  
Mist ledi aggio affittato  
Nù bech ause è restato  
Variu wan tu dù . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Neither is it my intention to trace here the fate that has recently befallen in Naples such English words as 'football' and 'baseball', the really Neapolitan adaptations of which could not be possibly brought out in print, nor of such radio terms as 'superheterodyne', 'interference' and the like, the very technical nature of which excludes them wholly from the dialect proper. Finally, it is not my object to list words borrowed bodily from English and used by the world at large, including Naples, such as 'reporter', 'tennis', *et similia*.

My immediate aim is merely to separate and examine English words which have been assimilated into the dialect and which are now an integral part of it. I shall try to trace their history, define their meaning, and illustrate their use.

It may be quite apropos to begin with the word 'England'. When it is absolutely necessary to mention this land, far away from Naples, strange, and of fateful memories to Neapolitans,<sup>3</sup> the latter use the Italian word for it *Inghilterra*, with various degrees of mispronunciation, or with the apheresis of initial *i*. But 'England', as such, would, according to Neapolitan phonetics, become regularly *Anglante*. Regularly, because initial *i* or *e* do not exist in the real dialect. They either fall (cf. Zin. A. G. under "Apheresis"), or change to

<sup>1</sup> For abbreviated references in this article see appended LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Raccolta di canzoni-macchiette e duetti coloniali*, New York, 1911, pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Not so very long ago as 1799, one of the blackest years in Neapolitan history, Nelson constituted himself the avenger of the Bourbons and put unmercifully and brutally to death scores of prominent Neapolitans, clapping the climax of this bloody orgy by hanging from the mast of his late flagship, *Minerva*, the distinguished nobleman and admiral, Francesco Caracciolo, the body being afterwards thrown into the sea.



a: \**incugine* > *ancunia* (REW 4367), *insignia* > *anzegna*, *encaustu* > *anchiosta*, *elephante* > *alifante*, *electore* > *alettore*, *errore* > *arore*, etc. The change of the dental from sonant to surd is also regular and is especially governed by analogy with the frequent and common *-ante* termination. Finally, the paragogic *e* is not only usual but inevitable (cf. Zin. A. G. under "Epithesis"). It is, in fact, as *Anglante* we find 'England' in that masterful and inimitable group of sonnets finally entitled by Ferdinando Russo 'O *Cantastorie*, in which the great vernacular poet makes the now extinct type of Neapolitan bard speak in a striking mixture of Italian and of Neapolitan:

"Subbeto Carlo manna na staffetta  
in Egitto, nell'Africa e in Anglante!  
Trovati i Palatini, in fretta in fretta,  
l'accompagnasse 'n Frangia a tuttuquante!" (Rus., 79).

On an analogous pattern with *Anglante*, (*a*) *ngrese* (v. s.) is the common and current Neapolitan adaptation of the Italian *inglese*, the rhotacism of *l* being regular in the dialect (cf. Zin. A. G. under "Metathesis").

Occasionally words which are not very usual or common in one particular language are borrowed by other languages and become part and parcel of their vocabularies. Such is the case with the English noun 'break' or 'brake' of uncertain etymological origin and meaning, of course, a kind of large wagonette. This 'break' invaded continental Europe in mid-19th century (Dict. ét.: 1859) in the sense of a pleasure-coach or a sort of surrey, and is listed as 'break' in Spanish, French and Italian dictionaries, the general pronunciation, however, being not *brāk* but *brāk*. The Neapolitans borrowed it evidently from the Italians at about that time, and adapted it to their dialect, with regular epithesis, as *brecco* or *brecche* (*breka*). In Naples the *breccho* par excellence is a large, uncovered, four-wheeled coach, generally drawn by four horses (the 'break and four' of the English), with a high front seat, two lower vis-à-vis middle seats, and a high rear seat facing backwards. It is used by Neapolitans on gala occasions, especially in May and September, for excursions to a sanctuary on *Montevergine*, a mountain 1,270 meters high, near the city of Avellino, not far from Naples. The Sanctuary was originally taken over by Christians from an ancient pagan temple to Cybele, daughter of Heaven and Earth, wife of Saturn, mother of Jupiter and of all the gods, symbol of the nourishing mother of men, and giver of the arts of life. Modern Neapolitans are wont to go in pilgrimage to this sanctuary, ostensibly to pay devotion to the *Madonna di Montevergine*, while in reality they make an overfestive occasion of it, with full regalia, and in the spirit of a pagan holiday — again. In a group of nine sonnets, entitled *Muntevergine*, Raffaele Chiurazzi, describing the preparations for what was to be a tragic excursion to the Sanctuary, states:

"'O tarallaro mmèreta 'o rispetto  
'e tutto quanto 'o brecco e l'Unione;  
n'ommo assignato, serio e curretto:  
pare 'o rilorgio d' 'a precisione!" (Chiur., 145).

Francesco Piscopo in his 14 poems on *Muntevergine*, also leading up to a dramatic end, makes his protagonist say:

"Me sò partuto 'a coppa a la muntagna  
Senza manco 'o catillo cu 'e nucelle . . .

Aggio pigliato 'a via cchiù sulagna,  
E, 'nfra brecche, carrozze e carruzzelle,  
Comme a cchille ca ccà vene pe' vuto,  
A pede e scauzo me ne sò scennuto." (Pisc., 210).

In his 'O *vico addò se canta*, E. A. Mario pens:

"Quanto have? Trenta lire pe' cinquanta?

Saglie int' 'o brecche, int' 'o rirote, e canta!" (Mar., 54).

Lord Raglan was the British commander in the Crimean war, and died of cholera near Sevastopol in 1855. In his earlier life he had lost an arm at Waterloo, and, evidently as a consequence of this, he eventually adopted a kind of loose overcoat without shoulder-seams, the sleeves going right up to the neck, which overcoat became known as a 'raglan'. This not very usual word came to America and spread over continental Europe in mid-19th century. Jefferson Davis, in his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (II, 701), states: "I picked up what was supposed to be my 'raglan', a waterproof, light overcoat, without sleeves." The word 'raglan' was borrowed by France, Italy and Spain about 1855 to designate the original raglan overcoat, and was again revived at about the end of the century to indicate an overcoat of a special cut (cf. Dict. ét., etc.). The Neapolitans borrowed it evidently from the French, whose pronunciation of raglan naturally stresses the last *a* without enunciating *n* (which is, of course, pronounced in both Italian and Spanish), and adopted it as *raclà*, with the regular change of the palatal from sonant to surd. I have been unable to find examples of this word in Neapolitan authors, but both D'Ambra's Neapolitan dictionary (1873) and Ceraso's (1910) duly list it.

Another English article of clothing borrowed by Neapolitans is the cut-away or swallow-tailed coat. Strangely enough, however, neither 'cut-away', 'swallow' nor 'tail' accompanied this distinctive piece of wearing-apparel to Naples where it is known as a *tait*. The latter is obviously the Italian phonetic transliteration of the English word 'tight' from 'tight coat'. Zingarelli lists it as such in his *Vocabolario* and defines it as a "sorta di soprabito piuttosto stretto, aperto dalla cintola, e con falde; Kraus." It is very likely that this *tait* penetrated Italy in mid-19th century as the earliest examples given in NED are dated 1835 under 'swallow-tailed coat', and 1841 under 'cut-away'. Libero Bovio, in his group of poems entitled *La forza del destino*, has occasion to say:

"A vecchia le dicette: Mo te caccio

nu *tait* nuovo (roba d' 'o marito)

ca sotto a stu cazione a fantasia

née dice 'na bellezza." (Bov., 116).

'Cheque', and not 'check', crossed over to France in 1835 (Dict. ét.), and was approved by the French Academy in 1878 (Dict. gén.). The Italians borrowed it from the French as *chèque* (cf. Zing., etc.) presumably about the middle of the century, and the Neapolitans adopted it, phonetically and with epenthesis, as *scecco*. In *D. Alfredo 'o Pallista*, Francesco Piscopo makes his braggart say:

"Bigliette 'e ciento, 'e cincuciento, 'e mille,

Pe' coppo 'e banche, *sceccchi* in quantità! . . .

Overo me parevo Ruffuscille! . . .

'E vierno a Roma, a Genuva a ll'està." (Pisc. 116).

The street-car has had a varied philological fortune in Naples. The 'tram-car' known in England in 1873, and shortened before 1880 to 'tram' in popular language (cf. NED), arrived in Naples in the early eighties and became, with regular epithesis, *trammo*, *tramme* or *tramma* for the masculine singular, and *tramme* for the plural. At first, it was applied to a horse-drawn street-car, and later, of course, to a trolley-car. In the 11th of his 12 poems dealing with 'E Cuccchiere 'affitto, Francesco Piscopo's 'cabby' laments:

"E se capisce! Mo stanno 'o pputere,  
E ffanno carte lloro! . . . Cu nu sordo  
Vanno int' 'o trammo. È caruto 'o mmestiere,  
È ghiuto 'nterra, caro sì-Liopordo! . . ." (Pisc., 83).

In the first of a group of 14 poems entitled 'O sciopero d' 'e tramme. 'O sì-Rafele 'o Rusecatore cu nu passaggiero allerta 'ncoppo 'o tramma d' 'a Turretta-Recrusorio, the same author puts in the grumbling conductor's mouth these words:

"Ma, dico i' po'? Che simmo fatto 'e fierre?  
Statte 'ncoppo a nu tramme sett'ott'ore!  
Scusate, 'e 'sta maniera tu m'attierre . . .  
Dicite 'a verità? Nce vò nu core? . . ." (Pisc., 87).

'Tramway' was first introduced into France as early as 1818 (Dict. ét.), but was approved by the French Academy only in 1878 (Dict. gén.), at about which time it reached Italy (Zing.: "verso il 1876"). While the Florentines read the word literally as *tranvai*, Italians in general adopted it as *tranvia*, translating the second part of the word, and giving the term the meaning of either 'tramway' or of 'street-car' itself. In listing 'tramway' Zingarelli indicates its pronunciation as *tràmue*, and rightly so, but under *tranvia* he gives the Neapolitan form *traumè* adding "conforme alla pronunzia di essa (parola inglese)". Barring his misspelling of the Neapolitan word, *trammùè* comes distinctly and unmistakably from the French pronunciation of the English word: *tràm' - wè* (cf. Dict. gén.). Furthermore, the concession for the electric street-railways in Naples was given at the time to a Belgian company that brought with them many and sundry French-speaking Belgian experts and employees from whom the Neapolitans first heard the word extensively. *Trammùè* is synonymous with *trammo* and means 'street-car' or 'trolley-car' only. Salvatore Di Giacomo in his three charming sonnets to *Carmela* sings:

"Aiere, dint'a na carrozza, stesa,  
passaie, guardanno. Io steva 'n trammùè;  
me voto, la cunosco . . . E la sorpresa  
fuie tal'e tanta, ca strelaie: — Carmè! . . ." (Di G., 15).

When the electric street-cars were first introduced in Naples they bore in large letters some such wording as *Compagnie Internationale de Tramways*. Neapolitans failed, of course, to understand the exact meaning of this last word, but read it literally, with the inevitable paragogic leaning, as *trammuasso* and assumed, as they still do, that it also means merely 'street-car'. In that famous and genial "bizzarria" in which the great poet imagines that he reaches Heaven in a balloon, and which he entitled 'N Paraviso, Ferdinando Russo makes St. Peter tell him:

"Vuie vevite acqua 'e serino?  
 Ll'acqua nosta è salimasta!  
 Vuie tenite 'e trammuasce?  
 Ccà nu scuorteco nce abbasta!" (Rus., 145).

The word 'rum', of uncertain etymological origin, appears in England in mid-17th century, the earliest example registered in NED being dated 1654. It crossed the Channel in 1688 (Dict. ét.), but was not approved by the French Academy until 1835 (Dict. gén.). Its presence in Italy, and Naples, in the early 19th century is attested by the dictionaries of the time. While the Italians borrowed it bodily as 'rum' or as (Fr.) 'rhum', the Florentines and the Neapolitans adopted it epithetically as *rumme* and *rummo* respectively, without any change in meaning. Francesco Piscopo in *'Appicceco 'e femmene* inveighs:

"E tu chi sî? Neh cuoppo 'e niro fummo? . . .  
 Alice 'e matenata, faccia 'e vecchia!  
 Te piaceva 'o *bicchierino* 'e rummo?  
 T' 'a vulive magnà 'a custata 'anneccchia?" (Pisc., 140).

Whiskey, the *uisce-beatha* of the Irish, found its way to France in 1786 (Dict. ét.), and must have been borrowed bodily by the Italians not long thereafter. To the Neapolitans, who rarely if ever use it, it is *vischi*. 'Whiskey and soda', however, must have evidently sounded like one word to them, and they took it to mean a special brand of whiskey, perhaps a more aged or stronger variety. With a twist of popular etymology, they made it into *vischisodo*, 'solid whiskey' as it were. Describing a feast (*'A tavuliata*) offered by the Lord to the poor, the great poet, Salvatore Di Giacomo, so lists, in his *Lassammo fa' Dio* . . . , the various beverages available:

"Vine paisane, e vine mbuttigliate  
 col sùvero d'argento e l'etichetta,  
 liquori delle fabbriche premiate,  
 curassò, strega, cùmmel e anisetta:  
 e in mezzo a questi (pe fa na sorpresa  
 a quacche pueriello furastiero)  
 preffino il vischisodo a marca inglese! . . ." (Di G., 360).

A fleeting retrospective glance shows us at once that the English words assimilated into the Neapolitan dialect are very few indeed, that they were practically all borrowed in the 19th century, not directly but via Italian or French—the influence of which upon the dialect is extensive (cf. Zin. F. L.)—and that they are all 'social' words—which is as it was to be expected.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Bov.      | L. Bovio, <i>Poesie</i> , Napoli, 1928.  |
| Ceraso    | G. Ceraso, <i>Vocabolario napoletano-italiano</i> , 3 ed., Napoli, 1910.             |
| Chiur.    | R. Chiurazzi, <i>Poesie napoletane</i> , Napoli (19—).                               |
| D'Ambra   | R. D'Ambra, <i>Vocabolario napoletano-toscano di arti e mestieri</i> , Napoli, 1873. |
| Dict. ét. | O. Bloch, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française</i> , Paris, 1932.     |

- Dict. gén. *Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu' à nos jours*, par A. Hatzfeld, A. Darmsteter, A. Thomas, Paris (various editions).
- Di G. S. Di Giacomo, *Poesie, edizione definitiva con aggiunte, note e glossario*, Napoli, 1927.
- Mar. E. A. Mario [Giovanni Gaeta], *Vangelo, seconda raccolta con note e glossario*, 1 ed., Napoli, 1928.
- NED *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles . . .* by James A. H. Murray . . . Oxford, 1888-1928.
- Pisc. F. Piscopo, *'E scugnizze, nuovi poemetti dialettali*, Napoli, 1915.
- REW W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 Aufl., Heidelberg, (1930 —) 1935.
- Rus. F. Russo, *Poesie, edizione definitiva a cura di Pasquale Ruocco*, Napoli (1928 ?).
- Zin. A. G. D. Zinno, "Accidenti Generali in Neapolitan Dialect", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXV, 1934 (pp. 389-395).
- Zin. F. I. D. Zinno, "A Brief Outline of Foreign Influences on the Neapolitan Dialect", *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, 1932 (pp. 237-242).
- Zing. N. Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, 2 ed., Greco Milanese, 1922.

DONATO ZINNO

NEW YORK

## REVIEWS

### CERVANTES IN FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

G. Hainsworth, *Les "Novelas ejemplares" de Cervantes en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Contribution à l'Etude de la Nouvelle en France*, Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1933 (*Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, Tome 95), 298 pp.

Recent scholarship has produced prolific results in tracing the extent to which the works of Spain's great novelist colored the literature of France.<sup>1</sup> The successive studies have been able to supplement each other by limiting their scope so as to permit a thorough scrutiny of the material involved. Following the harvests of his predecessors, Mr. Hainsworth had already revealed in a valuable article some substantial gleanings of his own.<sup>2</sup> He now extends his findings into a doctoral thesis (presented at the University of Paris) which ranks with the best that has been written on Franco-Spanish literary relations.

Although his careful appraisal of Cervantes' originality is commendably free from the extravagant enthusiasm of so many commentators, it does not take into account a few points that might have been given some consideration. Notwithstanding the rather boastful declaration of independence contained in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, it should be remembered that one of the author's projected works was announced as *Semanas del jardín*. This title suggests close kinship with the conventional framework of Italian *novelle*, which Cervantes pretended to scorn, and betrays the same tendency to revive old types of fiction that is also evident in *Persiles y Sigismunda*. The statement, "Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana . . ." etc., is less reliable than it is supposed to be. If it is true that the collections of short stories published in Spanish before 1613 were mediocre, at least the novelettes which appeared separately or were interpolated in longer narratives indicate an undeniable wealth of native resources. After all, Cervantes did not change very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Max-Hellmut Neumann, "Cervantes in Frankreich (1582-1910)", *Revue Hispanique*, 1930, LXXVIII, pp. 1-309; Esther J. Crooks, *The Influence of Cervantes in France in the Seventeenth Century*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931; Maurice Bardon, "Don Quichotte en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1605-1815)", Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931, 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Cervantes en France. A propos de quelques Publications récentes. Détails supplémentaires pour la Fortune de Cervantes en France", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1932, XXXIV, pp. 128-144. Other interesting articles on Spanish literature by Mr. Hainsworth that have appeared in the same journal are: "Les Nouvelles exemplaires de Cervantes en Italie", 1929, XXXI, pp. 143-147; "Quelques Opinions françaises (1614-1664) sur les Nouvelles Exemplaires de Cervantes", 1930, XXXII, pp. 63-72; "Une Ramification curieuse dans la Bibliographie cervantesque: la Fortune de la première Traduction française des *Novelas ejemplares*", 1930, XXXII, pp. 259-267; "Quelques Notes pour la Fortune de Lope de Vega en France (XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle)", 1931, XXXIII, 199-213.



much the character of the 17th-century short story in Spain, for his best ones were not widely imitated and in the more popular types he had able competition. Rather, by exploiting a form of literature which was already in the making, he gave impetus to its development and intensive cultivation.

In discussing the popularity of the Spanish language and literature in France, Mr. Hainsworth makes effective use of statistics. He estimates, for example, that from 1600 to 1620 the number of grammars, dictionaries and readers, including bilingual texts and translations, attained the astonishing total of more than 400 French editions. Although he cites several studies of Franco-Spanish relationships, apparently a few contributions on the subject have escaped his notice, especially those published in Spain.<sup>3</sup> The extent to which the *Novelas ejemplares* were read in the original on the other side of the border is convincingly demonstrated in Chapter II which includes interesting data concerning the ownership of early copies.

The collaboration of d'Audiguier and Rosset as translators receives lengthy treatment, specimen passages being employed to attest the superiority of Rosset. Incidentally some important biographical notes are added. The usual attitude of French scribes during Spain's ascendancy is well exemplified in d'Audiguier's conceited criticism of Cervantes, which reaches a climax with the words, "Je pense avoir dit ce qu'il vouloit dire". Time and again these translators, adapters and imitators addressed to their readers prefaces in the same tone, assailing their models, apologizing for having recourse to foreign works or even refusing to admit what sometimes amounted to flagrant plagiarism.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this hostility may be attributed in large measure to the fact that they were all too conscious of their lack of originality. At any rate it is significant that the amount of prose fiction produced in France during the 17th century exceeded that of England, Italy and Spain combined, and yet all this mass of writing is distinguished mainly by its poverty of invention. The independence of the Spaniards, on the other hand, is reflected in the extremely small number of novels which they translated from other languages in the same period.

The first part of the book concludes with a chapter on the effect of the *Novelas ejemplares* on the French stage. There is little that is new to be said on this aspect of Cervantes' influence, however, since it has been given a great deal of attention by previous scholars. The repetition of facts already known, though admittedly somewhat superfluous, tends to make the survey complete.

Much longer and more constructive is the second part entitled *La Nouvelle espagnole et l'Evolution du Genre en France*. Here we are concerned less with

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Joaquín López Barrera, "Libros raros y curiosos: Brantôme y el género bufo y grotesco de las *Rodomonadas españolas* en la literatura francesa", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1923, XLIV, 56-81; "Literatura francesa hispanófila de los siglos XVI y XVII", *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, 1925, VII, 83-95, 152-164, 379-393; 1926, VIII, 137-149; 1927, IX, 137-143; "La influencia española en Francia en el siglo XVII. Notas y apuntes", *El Instituto*, 1928, I, 27-30, 88-93; J. Juderías, "Españoles y franceses a fines del siglo XVII", *La Lectura*, 1911, XI, 126-134; Paul Patrick Rogers, "Spanish Influence on the Literature of France", *Hispania*, 1926, IX, 205-235; Lois Strong, *Bibliography of Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Until the XIXth Century)*, New York, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> A curious item in this connection is the following suggested by Desfontaines: *Le Héros des Traducteurs, ou l'Auteur espagnol tourné en français et en ridicule*. Cf. Gustave Brunet, *Essai sur les Bibliothèques imaginaires*, p. xx, in *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes...* Supplément, Paris, 1889.

Cervantes than with the French stories which he inspired indirectly through his emulators in Spain. The knowledge thus brought to light serves to complement an obviously inadequate chapter in the study of Miss Crooks, who concentrated her investigations on the theater.

Mr. Hainsworth begins this phase of his treatise by reviewing the generally overestimated Italian influence on the French novel between 1600 and 1700. With regard to the short story alone, there is ample evidence to support his contention that the refreshing technique introduced from Spain overshadowed that of the Italianate collections. At the same time it must be kept in mind that the Spanish novelists still continued to lean heavily upon Boccaccio and his countrymen for plots, so that they were really transmitting a diluted influence.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, in speaking of Loredano as "le seul peut-être des novellistes italiens du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à être tournée en français", Mr. Hainsworth is so intent on carrying his point that he is in danger of misleading his readers. Presumably the remark is based on a restricted definition of the word *novelliste*, but it is hardly justifiable to isolate a single phase of narrative writing from the main body of prose fiction. When one recalls the French renderings of Assarino, Biondi, Boccacini, Leti, Marana, Marini, Manzini, Nobili, Pallavicino and Rinnuccini, besides the imitations of Morando and others, it seems likely that they might have influenced to some extent the short story as well as longer narratives. Boccacini, for example, provided novelty of form and episodes for various types of writing in France. During the century there were various exchanges among France, Italy and Spain, the latter even borrowing from the others in some instances. On the whole, however, Mr. Hainsworth's analysis is sound in giving preëminence to the Cervantes school, which was imitated by the Italians as well as the French.

Upon undertaking to evaluate the indebtedness of French novelists to Spanish inspiration, he reopens a long neglected field. His investigations yield so many useful data that only a part of them can be cited here. Sorel and Camus are given major notice, the former being characterized as "le véritable initiateur de la nouvelle française du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (p. 138).<sup>6</sup>

Among the notable revelations regarding sources, Lancelot's *La Palme de Fidelité* and *Le Ravissement heureux* are found to be adaptations from Alemán

<sup>5</sup> On pages 119 and 157 Mr. Hainsworth lists the Italian sources of two of the Spanish collections that figure in French translations. In adding several new items to those already known, he traces the plot of Lugo y Dávila's *El médico de Cádiz* to Parabosco and Boccaccio. Many more analogues of this kind have been revealed by other scholars. Miss Caroline B. Bourland's dissertation, *Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature*, is especially noteworthy in this regard (cf. *Revue Hispanique*, 1905, XII, pp. 1-232). It is not feasible to list all of the references here, but I have counted more than seventy instances of Italian tales used by Spanish novelists of the 17th century.

<sup>6</sup> Although reference is made to Italian, German and English versions of Camus' works, there is no mention of Spanish translations. Since the Bishop of Belley was one of the very few French novelists thus honored, it would have been particularly appropriate to have included the following: *Leonora y Rosaura, historia trágica . . .* por D. Andrés Fernández de Ondatigui, Madrid, 1670 (Reprinted by Alonso y Padilla, Madrid, 1736); *Historia de Elisa, o verdaderamente la inocencia culpada*, traducido de Italiano en Español por el Racionero Andrés Yáñez (cf. Pedro Roca, *Catálogo de los manuscritos que pertenecieron a D. Pascual de Gayangos*, Madrid, 1904, No. 680). A religious work by the same author was also published in Spanish during the 17th century.

and Camerino respectively.<sup>7</sup> In discussing the variations from the original text in French versions, something more might be said of the treatment of Céspedes' *Pachecos y Palomeques* by Lancelot and Pichou.<sup>8</sup> To the various obscure editions of Pérez de Montalván's novels in French (listed on page 166, fn. 2) should be added a reissue of one from the *Para todos*.<sup>9</sup> Vanel's translation of this collection deserves more than passing reference as it takes liberties with the original, adding some incidents.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Hainsworth duplicates the findings of M. Magendie<sup>11</sup> in tracing *Le Roman véritable* and *Le Tolédan* to Tirso de Molina's *Cigarrales de Toledo*. This results from the fact that both gentlemen were diligent enough to examine all the contents of the two French works. The preface of one and an *avis* accompanying the fifth part of the other provide a key to the common source.

Scarron's multiple borrowings from Spanish are reviewed in detail. Although the elusive origin of his novel, *Plus d'Effets que de Paroles*, is acknowledged to be a mystery, nothing is said of the statement in the *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*<sup>12</sup> that this story was taken from Calderón's play, *Lances de amor y fortuna*. There is indeed some similarity of plot and at least one episode is common to both, but if Scarron did draw solely on this *comedia*, he has revised the material so as to defy recognition of the source. What makes the clue all the more interesting is the fact that Boisrobert, who wrote a novel with the same theme and title as Scarron's, also adapted Calderón's play to the French stage. It was likewise used by Quinault, and since Scarron is thought to have collaborated with him, it is understandable that the ill feeling between Scarron and Boisrobert aroused jealous accusations of plagiarism in the case of this overworked piece.

The list of analogous versions of the tale by María de Zayas, *El prevenido engañado*, (page 188, footnote 3), might include those of Massuccio, Lou-

<sup>7</sup> The Spanish originals of Lancelot's translations had been discussed previously by E. B. Place (cf. *Revista de filología*, 1926, XIII, 65-66), but Mr. Hainsworth corrects Prof. Place's statement concerning the derivation of *L'insolente belle-mère*. Although Mr. Hainsworth identifies some of the sources of the *Nouvelles espagnoles traduites de différents Auteurs*, par M. d'Ussieux (1772), somewhat strangely he fails to recognize two of them which also appear in the collection of Lancelot. *La Cabane des Pyrénées* and *Zelim et Sélima* in d'Ussieux are the same stories as *Le Ravissement heureux* and *Les Esclaves illustres*.

<sup>8</sup> Incidentally the origin of Pichou's play, *L'Infidèle confidente*, was pointed out in H. C. Lancaster's *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Baltimore, 1932, Vol. II, page 803. The plot had been ascribed erroneously to Cervantes in former works (cf. Rogers, *op. cit.*, and M. Romera Navarro *Historia de la literatura española*, New York, 1928, p. 256 fn.).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Le Napolitain . . . et deux autres Nouvelles galantes*, Lyon, 1698. An earlier edition of *Le Napolitain* lacks the appended stories, one of which, *Le Généreux bandy* is from *El piadoso vándolero*. The other is entitled *Histoire du Duc de \*\*\* et de la belle Thérèse de Mendoza*.

<sup>10</sup> One of the stories contributed by the translator bears the significant title, *La Force du Sang*. Cf. Caroline B. Bourland, *The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, Northampton, Mass., 1927, p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Magendie, *Le Roman français au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle de l'Assur au Grand Cyrus*, Paris, 1932, pp. 59-61. Mr. Hainsworth indicates that he became aware of this coincidence after concluding his work (footnote in the *Avant-propos*).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Vol. II for January, 1776, pp. 199-208.

bayssin de la Marca,<sup>13</sup> and Juan de Piña.<sup>14</sup> Boisrobert's *L'Inceste supposé* is found to be based on Zayas' *La perseguida triunfante*, but *L'Heureux Désespoir*, identical in title with Vanel's translation of one of Zayas' novels, is not the same story, as M. Chardon mistakenly believed.<sup>15</sup> D'Ouville's *Nouvelles amoureuses et Exemplaires* are not all taken from Zayas, as had been supposed previously.<sup>16</sup> Two of them are traced to Castillo Solórzano by Mr. Hainsworth, who also denies that LaMothe LeVayer's *Le Parasite Mormon* is an imitation of Zayas.

Sorel, Scarron and Segrais, who were chiefly instrumental in transplanting the Spanish genre to France, are shown to have exerted a considerable influence among their compatriots. Novelists of the *époque classique*, though still unable to achieve independence of foreign models, reveal a greater tendency toward realistic narrative. Mr. Hainsworth cites several examples of *nouvelles espagnoles* in the later period, but apparently their relation to Spanish antecedents is so tenuous that source-hunting is less fruitful. Probably his research here has not been so thorough. He does recognize in Boursault's *Ne pas croire ce qu'on voit* the familiar and much used plot of Calderón's play, *Casa con dos puertas mala es de guardar*.<sup>17</sup> He has been unable to locate the *Nouvelles tirées de plusieurs Auteurs tant françois qu'espagnols* (Paris, 1697) mentioned by Lenglet du Fresnoy. It seems to me that this item may very well have been confused with *Histoires nouvelles traduites de divers Auteurs espagnols* (Paris, 1671), the contents of which correspond to the former title. The error in date could easily result from the printer's misreading of MS numerals, or else it might be simply one of the many inaccuracies of the French bibliographer. *La Fenise, Histoire espagnole* (Paris, 1636), a work that has also been regarded as "introuvable", is very rare, but I have seen a copy in the National Library of Vienna.<sup>18</sup> It is a tribute to Mr. Hainsworth's alertness that he can surmise from the title alone the Spanish original of *La Fenise*, viz., Francisco de Quintana's *Experiencias de amor y fortuna*.

The observations concerning Donneau de Visé's *Les Diversitez galantes* are evidently based on the edition of 1664, which accounts for failure to note that in the following year the collection was enlarged, one addition being a story entitled *L'Avanture de l'Hostellerie ou les deux Rivaies, Nouvelle tragicomique* (pages 147-252). This is merely d'Audiguier's version of *Las dos*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Madeleine D. Lorch, "The Cid and Raymond de Toulouse, Heroes of a Novel of Chivalry", *Revue de Littérature comparée*, 1933, XIII, pp. 469-486.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. E. B. Place, *Maria de Zayas, an Outstanding Woman Short-Story Writer of Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Boulder, Colorado, 1923, (University of Colorado Studies, Vol. XIII, no. 1).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. Chardon, *Scarron inconnu*, Paris, 1903, p. 335. This error was also noted by E. B. Place in his study of Maria de Zayas.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lena E. Sylvania, *Doña Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. 21-22. Prof. Place (*op. cit.*) likewise was misled by the order of titles in D'Ouville's collection.

<sup>17</sup> Boursault's novel was translated to English as *Deceptio Vius or Seeing and Believing Are Two Different Things*, London, 1671.

<sup>18</sup> The shelf mark is BE. 5x. 40 (2). The book is listed in the catalogue under *Coveras*, a corruption of Cuevas, Quintana's pseudonym, which appears at the beginning of the text. An English translation, based on the French, was published in 1651 (cf. H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 188). There was also an Italian version by Bartolommeo dalla Bella, Venice, 1654.

*doncellas*, reprinted with very slight changes, a fact which has not, I believe, been noticed by Cervantes bibliographers heretofore.<sup>19</sup> Another group of tales by Donneau, *Les Nouvelles galantes comiques et tragiques* (Paris, 1669), is rightly judged to be drawn for the most part from the author's observations of contemporary life. It is in fact an *ouvrage à clef* of which a MS key is preserved in the Arsenal Library.<sup>20</sup>

Naturally a text so full of references involves an extensive bibliography (pages 238-283). The use of both is facilitated by an index of titles and proper names as well as a *Table des Matières*. Despite the logic of arranging citations according to subject, I find the twenty divisions of the bibliography somewhat confusing. Certain categories are appropriate enough, but little is gained by breaking up the list of French works into such vague sections as *Divers Romans et Nouvelles*, *Quelques Nouvelles postérieures à 1667* and *Ouvrages divers*. A more serious objection is the absence of a good many titles, some of which I have already indicated in the course of my remarks. One wonders whether the list of *Nouvelles espagnoles* (section 12 of the bibliography) represents all that were available to the author or only those which are relevant. As it is, he includes fewer than half of the works contained in Miss Bourland's study of the short story in Spain. While translations in various languages are mentioned occasionally, it appears that no attempt has been made to give all of them. Among the items omitted I note the following:

*La Conversion d'Atthis et de Cloride*. Traduzida en lengua española por N. Baudoin. Vista y corregida por Cesar Oudin, Paris, 1608. (Text in French and Spanish).

*Résolution courageuse et louable de la Comtesse de Tirconel, Irlandoise* . . . Traduite d'Espagnol en François par Pierre de Cadenet, Paris, 1628.

*Lindamire, Histoire indienne tirée de l'espagnol* (par. J. Baudoin), Paris, 1638.

*Dom Henrique de Castro, ou la Conquête des Indes*, Paris, 1684. (By Loubayssin de la Marque).

It is most regrettable that Mr. Hainsworth, as he states in his preface, was not able to consult R. C. Williams' *Bibliography of the Seventeenth Century Novel in France* (New York, 1931). Although incompetently done,<sup>21</sup> this compilation brings together hundreds of titles, a fact which makes it indispensable for students of prose fiction. In comparison, the number of works cited by Mr. Hainsworth is small enough to suggest the probability of finding in the longer catalogue a good deal of supplementary material on the topic of

<sup>19</sup> There is a copy of the *Diversitez galantes* (Paris, 1665) in the Arsenal Library in Paris, and the Brown University Library possesses another. I am obliged to Prof. E. H. Hespelt, of New York University, for comparing the text of *L'Avanture de l'Hostellerie* with that of the Rosset-d'Audiguer translation of the *Novelas ejemplares* (1615) owned by the Hispanic Society of America.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. MS 6544, Recueil Tralage, Tome IV, no. 14, fol. 35. According to this document, the first story in the collection was related in a letter by the Ambassador to Spain. The MS, attributed to the Marquis de Paulmy, has been described by Paul LaCroix in the *Bulletin du Bouquiniste*, March 15, 1869, pp. 148-152.

<sup>21</sup> A scholarly critique of Mr. Williams' bibliography by Dr. Franklin P. Rolfe appeared in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1934, XLIX, no. 4, pp. 1071-1086.



Franco-Spanish literary relations.<sup>22</sup> It is even possible to add to Mr. Williams' long list.<sup>23</sup>

Surely there must be something worth recording about French novels that are extant only in MS, and yet one searches in vain for such information in these recent surveys. From the scarcity of unpublished items it may be assumed that they would not afford much evidence one way or the other, but their inclusion is necessary in order to complete the data. An illustration is provided by the fragmentary novels of Bonnivert, who utilized Spanish subjects and left unfinished an adaptation of the Abencerraje story.<sup>24</sup> Another case is *Le Prince équivoque, Nouvelle espagnole*,<sup>25</sup> which bears some analogy to *Frédéric de Sicile* (Paris, 1680) and *Il principe bermafrodito* by Ferrante Pallavicino. Each of the latter acknowledges a Spanish source. Aside from texts of a similar nature, the MS notes of Baudot, De Paulmy and others ought to be illuminating.<sup>26</sup>

I cannot agree with that part of Mr. Hainsworth's conclusion in which he says, "Nous serions même disposé à croire que, pour le commun, des nouvelles écrites depuis 1700, il n'est pas nécessaire de chercher d'autre inspirateur que Boccace . . ." On the contrary, under favorable political developments and the stimulation of Lesage's successful pilferings, the 18th century abounds in works bearing the subtitle, *histoire espagnole* or *nouvelle espagnole*.<sup>27</sup> For this period especially an examination of available MSS, of which there are plenty, is important. Quite likely many of these were synthetic compositions aiming to profit by the established vogue. Notwithstanding their failure to attain publication, they bear witness to the revived popularity of Hispanic themes. After 1700 the French novel began to show originality, but whatever foreign influence it assimilated was not exclusively Italian. Cervantes was still a force to be reckoned with, as editions of the *Novelas ejemplares* continued to multiply. We are confronted by the paradoxical case of *La fuerza de la sangre* subjected to Gallic refinement by Mme Gomez and, thus altered, once more restored to its original language.<sup>28</sup> An excellent insight into the deliberate exploitation of Cervantes and other Spanish authors is to be gained from some of Florian's curious notes.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The following titles not found in Mr. Hainsworth's discussion are listed by Mr. Williams: (Anon.) *L'Innocente justifiée, Histoire de Grenade*, La Haye, 1694. (Anon.) *L'Amoureux Africain, Nouvelle galante*, Amsterdam, 1676. Prechac, *L'Ambitieuse Grenadine, Histoire galante*, Paris, 1678. Some account of the last two is given by Dorothy Frances Dallas in *Le Roman français de 1660 à 1680*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>23</sup> For instance, *Don Carlos, Grand d'Espagne, Nouvelle galante* (Cologne, 1688), a title which is missing from both of the works referred to, contains the sort of love intrigues that were commonplace.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. MS 1009 in the Sloane collection of the British Museum.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. MS Yf 2457, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris.

<sup>26</sup> These are preserved in the Arsenal Library, Paris.

<sup>27</sup> Among the translations to be noted are several stories in the collection, *Lectures amusantes ou les Délassements de l'Esprit* . . . , La Haye, 1739. Cf. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* . . . , Madrid, 1860 (p. 226), and Joaquín de Entrambasaguas y Peña, *El doctor don Cristóbal Lozano*, Madrid, 1927 (p. 124).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Jornadas divertidas*, traducidas del francés por D. Baltasar Drigutt, Madrid, 1797 (Vols. 7 and 8).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. MS Add. 21514 at the British Museum.



Mr. Hainsworth's book reveals much that is new or significant, and it is precisely because his observations are interesting and valuable that I have taken the pains to review them in detail. One must go beyond the narrow limits of the short story, however, in order to arrive at a full appreciation of Spain's contribution to the prose fiction of France. Until the prodigious number of *comedias* is minutely studied, we cannot hope to estimate accurately the debt of European novelists in general to this mine of plots. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that the picaresque romances left no more definite traces beyond the Pyrenees than the present work implies. I am convinced that this field of comparative literature will yield many other discoveries to the investigator who pursues the subject with the exhaustiveness which it deserves.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

BROWN UNIVERSITY

#### A GENERAL WRITES OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

General Francisco I. Urquiza, *De la vida militar*, Mexico, Herrero Hnos. 1930, 234 pp.; *El primer crimen*, Mexico, Ed. "Cultura", 1933, 311 pp.; *Recuerdo que . . .*, Mexico, Ed. Botas, 1934, 348 pp.

When Diaz, like the Old Man of the Sea, became intoxicated with his own concoction of surface prosperity, the Mexican people — *los de abajo* — with a cataclysmic start threw off his régime, the symbol of their four centuries of economic and social enslavement. Newly freed, but with their once strong ideals lost in the misery of those centuries, the people were swept along by their elemental emotions in an increasingly furious tempest of destruction. They demolished ruthlessly every structure that told of the old and hated order; the useful fell with the worthless, until the entire country was once again a scene of chaos to the eyes of the stoical Indian.

Whirled with the rest of the military from place to anarchic place, General Francisco I. Urquiza somehow was able to retain his calmness and fullness of character, better to see things in true perspective. This is evident even in his early stories of the Revolution, which he says he began writing back in those peaceful days of Revolutionary interim when he was captain of Madero's Special Guard. In *De la vida militar*, the first of his accounts of military life, he blends together historic fact and military tale in a pleasant conversational manner, covering the whole emotional scale of the mighty conflicts, from their tragic to their comic notes. The last half of this book, however, is dominated by a realistic narration of the life and death of the equitable Carranza; here the author's deep sincerity pervades his realism, giving the whole an intense vitality. Short sketches of camp life, of *jefes*, and of the anonymous, fill the pages of *El primer crimen* in ordered confusion, echoing the tone of the first story, which gives the book its title: though the revolutionary field be, on the surface, full of all the varied experiences and emotional elements of life, its undertone is perceptibly one of somberness and tragedy. Urquiza realizes that this results from the inevitable destruction left in the wake of revolution, and he accordingly lightens his episodes with a forward look to peace and victory.

*Recuerdo que . . .*, his latest book, re-creates the mad vortex of the years 1910 to 1914. Not seeking to write history,—though this is in effect very read-

able journalistic history,—he gives us in rapid succession "snaps" of vivid scenes: mass-confusion, powerful ambitions at cross-purposes, titanic strivings, fatalistic bravery, so that his book becomes a remarkably real film of the Revolution. Serving under Madero, "the simple and good Apostle", he is forced to flee Mexico City when Victoriano Huerta treacherously murders his beloved leader and puts an end to hopes for an early attainment of social readjustment. He then goes North to join Carranza, and to fight on for the Constitutionalists. These are not days of ideals, but of mad battle on battle, discouraging failures, dire privation of necessary food and munition-supplies. Soon the Revolution gains men and momentum, the Army of Liberty grows, and as city after city falls to the victorious Revolutionists, the turbulent lines of the armies converge on the center of the vortex, Mexico City. The armies are led by Obregón, Carranza, and Villa, who, seen mostly through the actions of their men, loom up in the periphery of this novel: Carranza, the kind and steadfast; Villa, the earth-brute, swift and sure as the eagle. When Huerta tries desperately to bring about unity through the threatening intervention of the United States, his soldiers are finally driven back and he is forced to flee from the country. Mexico City is taken without a battle. Dissension has meantime broken out among the Constitutionalist generals; and when the clash of ambitions leads to an open break between Carranza and Villa, Urquiza remains faithful to the former, taking a post in his Presidential Guard.

These chronological events and his own personality, which he keeps modestly in the background, frame the *cuadros*, which the author flashes before us in the vivid chromo-photography of war. Seeking out minor types, for "it has been they who bought the triumph", he pictures, with his keen sensitivity to human values, all that will give the reader an idea of the structure of these men and the period they wrought: scenes of bloodshed and humor; the grotesque and the inspiring; the laughable, the brutal; the picaresque, the pure; the sensual, the stoic — the Revolution. Men, like that anonymous old fellow of San Patricio, who protects the women of his household so effectively that he keeps back with a single rifle a whole brigade of Revolutionists, and who, when his women folk are safe and he is finally taken, says: "Bueno, pues ya está. Mándeme matar."; men, like that superb character, *tío* Bernardo, veteran of the French Intervention, who looses in his fluent and savory sayings all the mellow wisdom of ranch-life experience, all the sparkling dialect of the North. And women, like the redoubtable Belem, respected by every soldier for her fierce fighting in the foremost ranks, who takes her pleasure where she finds it, and hopes to find her greatest happiness, when the war is done, by becoming an actress. Sturdy characters, limned accurately, simply, with understanding and sympathy.

Humor, as well as satire and irony, lights up these pages. A story about Villa: In a campaign to drive out the *gachupines*, he questions a Spaniard, who says he comes from the Canary Islands. "Where is that?", Villa asks. "Over there beyond Havana", the man replies. "Oh, well that's all right: I'm only out after those *gachupines*", replies Villa.

Told in his good-humored, delightfully musical way, these anecdotal episodes all take on the savory tonalities of the conversation of his natal North.

Occasionally a lyric outburst rings forth from the turmoil of this novel, as in his apostrophe to his birthplace, the Laguna region, those "Tierras de trabajo, de promisión, de lucha", or when he defends the Revolution. Cruel, he admits, yes, and painful, but the expression of the sovereign impulse of the majority against a selfish ruling-caste. The good suffer with the bad, but who, in the blind destruction of revolution, can pause to let a condemned building stand merely for the quality of some of its bricks? Does not the destroyer, braving death in his effort to attain victory for the manifest need of his people, justify his acts by this very abnegation of his own life? Not that ideals move him to fight, these come later, but that he strikes out from necessity, — for freedom to live. Revolution, continues the author, is the product of the times; it finds its justification in the ever-ascending march of humanity; it is the holocaust from whose flames a new and greater *patria* shall rise.

ERNEST R. MOORE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

#### A NEW TRANSLATION OF DANTE

*Dante's Divine Comedy, Part I, Hell*, translated by Louis How, New York, The Harbor Press, 1934, octavo unpaginated.

Dante remarks somewhere that there is no advantage in redemonstrating Euclid's propositions or in defining happiness already defined by Aristotle. *Terza rima* translations of Dante have not yet arrived at like perfection; and it may be postulated that they never will. Not their perfection, then, but their number is what might be expected to give pause to the new translator. It is natural that a thing so difficult as English *terza rima* — needless to say, the reproduction of Dante's hendecasyllabic lines with dissyllabic rhymes would be sheerest impossibility — should tempt poets like Byron and Shelley, scholars like Grandgent, or hardened translators like Plumptre; but the general reader will find matter for amazement in Toynbee's revelation of some 17 other attempts since Hayden tried so to render the *Inferno* in 1782, — and in the main by translators whose names connote nothing further. Nor does this carry the list down through M. B. Anderson's *Divine Comedy* or Binyon's *Inferno*. There is also, if not precisely in that category, Prof. J. B. Fletcher's interesting experiment in unlinked tercets.

Italian scholars are readier than ours to remark the ever-increasing translations of their great classic, and Prof. Torraca has already noted in the *Nuova Antologia* the new rendition of the *Inferno* by Louis How; but for English readers a new-comer needs some reason for offering to the public a fresh version of the *Divine Comedy*. Mr. How has one. His version is, he tells us on the title page, an "American translation" of the *Hell*. By his use of "an eclectic language", not even bound fast to the "colloquial usage of these States", this translator feels that he is following in Dante's own footsteps for, as he says, "any word that served Dante's purpose suited his taste". He feels too, that, if he had resorted to inversions or been "driven to building a feminine rhyme out of two words" — although, as a fact, feminine rhymes are extremely rare in this translation, — he has not gone to the lengths Dante himself went. And

it is superfluous to add that he is supported no less by the doctrine than by the example of Dante, who considered the vulgar tongue, that is natural to us, nobler than the literary language the mastery of which requires assiduous study.

How's translation is into the vulgar tongue in the fullest sense. Like Dante, he tells us, he has not "eschewed either obsolete words, neologisms, coinings, dialect, foreign phrases, or slang". His colloquialisms may give the reader pause; the latter may wish that "in a jiff" had not been put into Virgil's mouth, he may object to "languid strut" for *lenti passi* because of the connotations of the noun, he may suspect that such a word as "unburled" is forced to a novel meaning; but, in the main, he will find, perhaps to his surprise, that practically every one of How's doubtful words has the authority of the *Oxford Dictionary*. If he checks at a reference so early in the 14th century to "heavy guns" of rain, the recollection of Milton's satanic artillery may reassure him. If, on the other hand, he is conscious of the development of the "American language", he will relish such Americanisms as keep to earlier English usage, like "heft" or "chores", or those which have the vigorous life of present day colloquialism: idioms like "inside of" and "stamps around"; phrases like "let's both retrace our footsteps", "there's such a lot at stake", "punched him in the jaw", and so on. In a word, How has authority behind him and is also possessed of courage to initiate something new.

Apart from its interest as an experiment in a direction suggested by Dante himself, one advantage of the colloquial turn which How imparts to his rendition is that it tends to diminish the sort of sheepish awe before a masterpiece, which so often acts as a barrier between the printed page and the ordinary reader, and to permit the latter to give vent to his natural feelings. Reading such a version, he can allow himself — the man of a different age — to be genuinely shocked at the repugnance of the Ugolino passage, or of the serpent-transformation of the 25th canto or the loathsome worms of the third or at the disembowelled horrors of the 28th. He may, without the sense of committing literary heresy, feel abhorrence at Dante's "courteous" betrayal of his promise to Alberigo or at Dante's behavior as well as Virgil's toward Fillipo Argento on the lake. It is, however, noticeable that How's colloquialisms do not, as a rule, occur in the finer passages, which he translates with striking grace and fidelity. Generally speaking, these purple patches are quite free of them.

It would be difficult to find a version closer than How's to Dante's words, or fuller of their dreadful beauty, than in the inscription over the gate of Hell:

"Through me the way within the grieving city,  
Through me the way among eternal woe,  
Through me the way to lost folk beyond pity.  
My maker's perfect justice had it so:  
The power divine made me, and wisdom sheer,  
And the first love the world could ever know.  
Before me naught created did appear,  
Except eternal things, whereof am I.  
Abandon all hope, ye that enter here." (III, 1-9)

The same accuracy of translation and care for the beauty of the poem is observable in the famous passage of the second canto:

"A blessed, beauteous lady called my name,

I begged her tell me her commanding word.  
 More bright than stars, her eyes were full of flame,  
 And she began in sweet and gentle way,  
 With voice angelic as the words that came:  
 'O courteous soul from Mantua, today  
 Thy fame endures wherever lands extend,  
 And will endure as long a time as they.  
 My friend, who is, alas, not fortune's friend,  
 Is so bestead within the wilderness  
 That he retreats before his journey's end.  
 By now, I fear, he is in such distress  
 That I have risen in his behalf too late,  
 On what I heard in Heaven. None the less,  
 Repair to him, and with thy words ornate,  
 And what for his escape be requisite,  
 Aid him, that I be not disconsolate.  
 I am Beatrice, who thus desire it.  
 My longing draws me homeward to my place.  
 Love led me thence and gave me language fit.  
 When I am back before my Master's face,  
 My mouth will often tell thy praise to him.' (II, 53-74)

Again, in the lovely imitation of Virgil in the scene upon the banks of Acheron in the third canto, while the translator's theories may not beguile the reader into liking the inept word, *clothes*, the beauty, the inevitable rightness of the whole passage cannot but impress him:

"As in the Autumn leaves drop off and fall  
 One at a time, till boughs return their clothes  
 Entirely to the earth: just so, at call  
 Do Adam's wicked seed, for each one throws  
 Himself down from the margin; one by one.  
 Like birds unto a signal, so drop those.  
 They go away o'er water dark and dun:  
 And ere they are ashore on t'other strand,  
 A fresh herd is collected here." (III, 112-120)

The Virgilian picture of the Elysian fields, which follows the meeting of the four great poets in the fourth canto, offers yet another example of How's power of translation, — at once conscientious and poetic:

"Going in where seven gates an entrance gave,  
 We six now reached a fresh and verdant field.  
 We found there folk whose eyes were slow and grave,  
 Their faces of authoritative pride,  
 Who spoke but little and with voices suave.  
 We drew us to a distance on one side,  
 A place high, open, luminous, serene,  
 Whence everybody there could be espied.  
 There, right before me on the enamelled green  
 Were shown me the great spirits, and I bear

Myself more proudly, thinking whom I have seen."

(IV, 110-120)

Again, the rendering of Ulysses' tale of his last voyage finely and faithfully conveys the sense of fierce courage as of swift movement over desperate seas which Dante has imparted to it. I quote its conclusion:

"Five times rekindled and as many dim,  
The light beneath the moon, since when we flew  
On lofty quest, and lo, there seemed to swim  
A mountain into sight, of murky hue  
Because of distance; and whose towering head  
Seemed higher than had ever met my view.  
The joy we felt soon turned to fear instead:  
A whirlwind issued from the novel ground,  
And smote our tiny vessel full ahead.  
Three times it whirled us and the waters round;  
The fourth it lifted up our stern amain,  
The stem went down, — for so was Someone bound, —  
And then the sea closed over us again." (XXVI, 130-142)

I have used the word "faithfully". There is, however, a moment in the earlier part of Ulysses' tale which may invite question. The ordinary mind would regard "Considerate la vostra semenza" as referring to national or family pride and tradition. How gives it a new turn with "Consider; it was *men* procured your birth", which the next line, especially if Dante is echoing Sallust, may possibly justify: "Fatti non foste a viver come brute." Still, the interpretation is not the obvious one.

The most famous passage in the *Inferno* can never, it is safe to say, be translated so as to give complete satisfaction. Nevertheless, in How's version the poetry has not evaporated. Francesca's speech, especially, is proof of this:

"No greater grief in misery  
Than calling back a happier time compels:  
Thy teacher knoweth this for verity.  
But since thou wouldst discern the hidden wells  
From which our love sprang suddenly to light,  
I will proceed like one that weeps and tells.  
Upon a day we read for our delight  
Of Launcelot sore wounded by Love's lance;  
Alone were we, not feeling any fright.  
More times than one we caught each other's glance,  
From what we read, and coloured for a while,  
But one thing was the conquering circumstance.  
For when we read of that desired smile  
By such a lover kissed, he, none e'er took  
Or e'er shall take from me by force or guile,  
Kissed me upon my mouth, and trembling shook.  
Our Gallehaut was the tome and he that wrote.  
That day we read no further in the book." (V, 121-138)

A few briefer examples must conclude the indications of How's right to



be regarded as an accomplished translator. He appears to me to keep the actual feeling of cool morning in:

"I looked far up and saw its shoulders pale  
And glowing, with that planet's earliest beam,  
Which leadeth a man straight through every dale." (I, 16-18);  
of lonely terror in:

"The gloomy plain  
So fiercely shook, that horror in my mind  
Bathes me in sweat to think of it again.  
The tearful earth shot out a blast of wind,  
Which flashed a sudden lightning's rosy glare." (III, 130-134);  
and of the famed celestial indifference of the gods in the description of Fortune:

"But she is happy, and she hears no tongue;  
And blithe among the angels free from fault,  
She turns her wheel, content and ever young." (VII, 94-96)  
Again, Dante's neat precision in the description of the diver is perfectly rendered:

"like one returning, who has dived  
Beneath a ship to set an anchor free,  
Which some chance rock has fouled, and, this contrived,  
Extends his arms and pushes from the knee." (XVI, 133-136)

How has likewise preserved Dante's subtlety in the observation:

"Ah, men should very cautiously proceed  
With those that see not deeds alone, but send  
Their minds within, where thoughts are found to read."  
(XVI, 118-120)

His translation is in fact studded throughout with well-rendered beauties. It is to be regretted that: — although only occasionally, — How is driven by the exigencies of his verse to add to Dante's own words, and even to his meaning. When this occurs, it must be allowed that the better the addition is in itself, the more regrettable it is for the reader uninstructed in the original. Certainly How misleads such an one when — among other additions, he says: "Within that timeless air as *dark as dirt*" (III, 29), or translates "*dibattero i denti*", "gnashed their teeth, *grinned without mirth*" (III, 101), or causes the three Florentines, asking Dante on his return to earth to speak of them, to add, "*Whose record nothing mars*" (XVI, 85). When, with antiquarian imagination, our translator writes "crape bedecked the joyful wreaths I claimed" for "*i liete onor tornaro in tristi lutti*" (XIII, 69), or when, with reference to Elijah's chariot, he translates "*Quando i cavalli al cielo erti levorsi*" by "With horses aiming heavenward *like prayers*" (XXVI, 36), the innocent reader may well attribute the charm of these words to Dante himself; and it may be remarked, with some truth, that they would not be out of place in the poem. But they are not Dante's, and it is a question how far astray it is admissible to let a reader go when he is making acquaintance with a great poet.

How is, throughout, driven to such shifts in common with translators into *terza rima* in general. In English that metre, even modified, presents, when used for translation, almost insuperable obstacles. It may be true, as Matthew Arnold said in a different connection, that "it is a great thing to have this part

of your model's general effect already given you in your metre, instead of having to get it entirely for yourself"; but it apparently "exceeds man's might" to produce this general effect in Dante translations. How has forestalled criticism of his inversions on the ground that Dante made use of them. So indeed he did, but not to such an extent as to make whole passages obscure. The fact remains that any attempt to force Italian into the English *terza rima* presents two difficulties which simply cannot be overcome for the whole duration of such a work as Dante's. The paucity of English rhymes is one of these; and the other is the need of expansion in the English to create a line or tercet that will accommodate the Italian meaning. These difficulties invite inversions and circumlocutions and searchings for abstruse words to a degree that makes the reader of any one of the many *terza rima* versions feel that he might as well be engaged with Browning or Henry James. Dante may be echoed, but he is thickly echoed. How true this is must be clear to anyone who observes how Prof. Fletcher, by cutting the Gordian Knot with regard to only one of the two obstacles and omitting the linking rhymes, has cleared the meaning and freed the flow of the verse. His translation of the *Divine Comedy* is in a mutilated *terza rima*. True; but his translation has an easy flow that every strict *terza rima* version so far lacks and, it is safe to say, is destined always to lack. Even so excellent a translation as How's fails to free the reader of the discomfort of complicated phrases. No more than others can he consistently give back the bell-like sound of the Dantesque voice. The reader who knows his Dante can turn to the original and say: "yes, that is Dante's meaning", but those unversed in Italian get a very different and often bewildering impression as they read. A good translator, dealing with the difficulties in question, sets up a style of his own; and because of these difficulties it cannot have what Prof. Fletcher calls Dante's "melodic virtuosity". How's is extremely individual, and, once the reader has mastered its first difficulties, he is likely to enjoy it very much. It may be a muffled Dante that he comes to know, but it is the best that he can hope for, for assuredly the *Inferno* is never likely to be better translated into *terza rima* than it is here.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES

ROSEMARY HALL, GREENWICH, CONN.

#### D'ANNUNZIO'S FORTUNE ABROAD

Joseph G. Fucilla, and Joseph M. Carrière, *D'Annunzio Abroad, a Bibliographical Essay*, New York, Institute of French Studies, 1935, IX + 239 pp.

"*Les dieux s'en vont, d'Annunzio reste*", wrote Marinetti in 1908. To be sure the prophecy has failed to materialize and the old gods still have a place in our sun, but for a while, at least, they did have to share their glory with the Italian poet, novelist, dramatist, soldier, patriot, asthete, decadent "et al". Nor was this true only in Italy, but nearly everywhere else, as Professors Fucilla and Carrière have shown, indirectly to be sure, in their bibliographical essay, which gives a full picture of the popularity that D'Annunzio has enjoyed in lands other than his own.

Through the 2,224 listed items, and the additional 17 pages of material, the two scholars from Northwestern University have gathered together a read-

ing list that is extremely welcome not only to students and admirers of D'Annunzio, but the less specialized reading public as well. The book has been made all the more useful by the subdivision of the references into general subject-sections, as for instance: General Criticism, Biography, Novels and Short Stories, Plays, Poetry, Miscellaneous Works, Translations, and Varia. Section A of several of these subdivisions list the studies that are of general critical nature. Appendices and an index conclude the list. The value of such a classification for reference purposes need not be overstressed to be fully appreciated.

A bibliography of a major modern author, who is bound to be discussed more in periodicals and newspapers than in complete volumes is an evident necessity especially for those who have not the good fortune to teach in institutions that are centrally located or well supplied with periodicals or periodical indices. Such a bibliography, moreover, is not a very easy task to complete, especially if one wishes to be thorough. However, our two compilers have done the work, and done it successfully.

The users of this bibliography will be extremely thankful to its authors for the brief comments in the form of summaries added after a large number of the titles included, as well as for the listing of reviews of articles and books that are to be found after several of the titles. No doubt, their experience in scholarly research has led them to see the crying need of a bibliography that is logically organized.

In answer to their desire for constructive criticism one may ask why items 170-1, which deal with the years 1920 and 1925, have been included under the year 1899 of Chapter II. Also, the writer has one suggestion to make. It seems that the typographical arrangement of the book would have gained if the titles of the works cited had been set off a little more clearly so that the eye could catch them at a glance. To be sure, in a work of this type the consecrated use of Italics has been reserved for the names of the periodicals in which the articles appeared, and it is difficult to find a second or third substitute; nevertheless, a system of dashes or light and bold face type might have answered the purpose. However, one must not ask for what is either extremely difficult or almost impossible. The value of the study is not impaired by this one defect, if one may use such a word, and the conscientious thoroughness with which the authors have completed the work, even going so far as to include the briefest résumés found in classroom texts for American Schools, as in items 91 and 147, more than offsets the added strain that they impose upon the reader's eyes, or the temporary confusion into which the users of the book may fall now and then.

A. MARNI

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

### THE ANCIENT SAGAS OF ICELAND

Margaret Schlauch, *Romance in Iceland*, The American Scandinavian Foundation, (Princeton University Press), New York, 1934, VIII + 201 pp.

At first thought it might seem preposterous to write a book on "romance" in Iceland — an inhospitable island in the Northernmost part of a storm-swept sea! We have heard or read about the stern and unyielding characters of the

Viking age, and are accustomed to think that Icelandic heroes always pre-occupied themselves with such "practical" matters as litigation, family feuds, revenge, inheritance of farm-crops and cattle, and Viking expeditions, in brief, with anything but the niceties of chivalry and courtly love. Nevertheless, a study like the present one has been long needed, for an astounding wealth of highly romantic sagas from Iceland lies in MS still in Scandinavian libraries, especially in Copenhagen, and to call them to the attention of students in Germanic and Romanic philology is partly the purpose of Professor Schlauch's engaging undertaking. Thus the book, which is meant as a mere preliminary survey, does not pretend to exhaust the large material, but merely to classify it and make it accessible: "Once a guide book has appeared . . . , many experts will no doubt work upon the innumerable problems of comparative literature here suggested, and also edit the texts. . . . The mass of material is in itself discouraging; but on the other hand there is no greater unexplored field for students of comparative literature, . . . at every turn one stumbles on significant parallels, waiting to be made the subject of a special study." It is indeed to be hoped that this challenge will be heeded soon. If the Icelandic autochthonous sagas are, in the words of Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, "the finest fruit of the Germanic mind before the Renaissance," the much inferior but also much more varied foreign, fictitious sagas, so-called *lygisögur* or "lying sagas", that superseded the former towards the end of the Middle Ages, have just as pertinently been termed by him "the crazy quilts of medieval romance." They fill such gaps in the records of chivalry in foreign lands that for the purpose of the literary historian Iceland must be considered the treasure-house of medieval romance and Icelandic literature the most cosmopolitan of the Middle Ages.

The introduction of Christianity into Iceland in the year 1000, the Latin language and classic learning, the medieval church with its international organization, and sundry political, climatic, and economic influences, — all helped to put "wanderlust" into the blood of the medieval Icelanders and send them abroad as Vikings, merchants, or students seeking knowledge. The course of the many weird tales brought back by those far-traveling Icelanders to their audience at home, thirsting for tidings of the outside world, is what Prof. S. has traced in her book. There were romantic tales of chivalry from France and England, voluptuous and fantastic Oriental romances, bits of Celtic fairy lore, marvelous accounts of Byzantium and India, waifs and strays of classical tradition, echoes of Talmudic commentary and of the life of Buddha. All these were adopted in Iceland and combined in the most audacious manner with native lore about trolls and giants and witches to form what the Icelanders with fine irony called "lying sagas."

Chapter I, *The Setting*, discusses the nature of the "lying sagas" and their various causes. Ch. II, dealing with *The Old Gods and Heroes*, mentions (p. 28) the *Bragda-Mágus saga* as a fantastic reworking of the French *Maugis d'Aigremont* and other Carolingian epics: Thor and Odin of the Scandinavian Valhall serving as Saracen gods in what was once a *chanson de geste*. Ch. III treats *The Classical Tradition*, but has nothing of direct concern for French literature. Ch. IV broaches an enticing subject, *The Road to the East*, and (p. 89) draws an interesting parallel between the importance attached to astrology in the *Adónius saga* and a similar feature in a French

romance, *Le Dit de l'Empereur Constant*. Ch. V gives a panorama of *Recurrent Literary Themes*, variously combined and adapted in Icelandic romance. Glimpses of ancient beliefs surviving among the narrators form the contents of Ch. VI, *Magic and the Supernatural*. There we notice (p. 123) an Icelandic wizard who is able to make Charlemagne believe that a flood is threatening him and his Court, just as, according to the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, which was known in the North, the emperor himself causes a flood to appear and then disappear in Constantinople.

Ch. VII, *Imitations of French Romance*, should have a special appeal to the readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW and therefore deserves a more thoroughgoing review than space allows us here. Only the highspots can be indicated. There is *Arthurian Romance* first of all. Popular in Norse prose translation at the court of Norway, the story of Tristan reached Iceland in the 13th century and presently colors native story-telling with the new fashions of chivalry and woman-worship. In the *Hrings saga ok Tryggva* a strong-minded Brynhild faints when her hero departs to gain honor and glory in war, while an ardent wooer, Hérekr, sees little need of arms in battle, because "Armor never gave life to a doomed man . . . and besides, the Princess serves as my brynje and shield." In these words, Prof. S. observes, are curiously mingled the old fatalistic attitude of Germanic heroism with the new code of chivalrous adoration. Wooing by proxy, but, significantly enough, without the love-drink, takes place in the *Völsunga saga* and particularly in the *Haralds saga Hringsbana*, whose author prefers free will and natural human motives to the rather dishonorable behavior of the Cornish knight. Again, whereas in the Tristan story the lovers are condemned to death by King Mark and Tristan then stages an especially dramatic escape, in the Icelandic imitation, the *Kára saga Kárasonar*, the lovers are innocent and are eventually marooned together on a deserted island. There a friendly dwarf helps them and they dwell together in the forest "in great delight". Lastly, several Icelandic sagas have heroes seeking cure from a poisoned wound in the land whence the poison or illness came. But this idea was wide-spread and need not derive from the Tristan story. Popular folk-tales may likewise account for the presence in Icelandic romance of incidents identical with those in the *Conte del Gral* and *Yvain*, both known in Norwegian translation.

The description of the imperial palace of Hugon at Constantinople in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* was widely imitated in Scandinavia, especially in the *Karlsmagnus saga ok Kappa hans*, and seems to have been amazingly popular. There are many interesting parallels of this description in the world's literature. One of the earliest and most interesting of Icelandic imitations, an episode, the *Raudúlfs þáttur*, in the part of the *Flateyjarbók* which tells the saga of Saint Olaf, seems to have used the classic description of the Palace of the Sun by Ovid in the 2d book of the *Metamorphoses* in addition to the *Pèlerinage*. Its popularity in the North may have to do with the doubtless fact that such palaces, from Ovid on, are connected with a study of the heavens. What is more (I make this my own suggestion), sun-cult was practiced in pagan Scandinavia: Baldr may have been the northern "Apollo",<sup>1</sup> and many pagan tradi-

<sup>1</sup> Material on the debatable question of sun-cult is found in the 2d volume, *The Odin Legend, of my Northern Antiquities* . . .



tions continued popular among the early converts to Christianity (Christ a picture of the sun — like Baldr). In addition, as Prof. S. also remarks, the type of building described in the *Pèlerinage* was known to all pilgrims to Rome and Constantinople.

*Innocent queens persecuted or falsely accused* by their enemies, and *the envious courtier* who plots and schemes against the hero, — both types of current French romance reached Iceland probably by way of Germany. The device of a cloak serving as a chastity test, occurring in the *Samsons saga*, is borrowed directly from the Old French *Lai du Mantel*, known in an Icelandic translation which describes the discomfiture inflicted on the ladies of Arthur's Court by the test. As for *fairy mistresses*, there was an Icelandic translation of the *Parténopeus de Blois*, with occasional traces in the sagas, and the *lais of Marie de France* were translated at *strengleikar*. However, supernatural love-affairs could not be so congenial to the Icelanders as the more martial *chansons de geste*. These are stock-in-trade in the sagas, and many a princess is won by the hero's setting to flight a whole army of infidel invaders who had hoped to win her person for their king and her country for themselves. The very language used by Christian knights in addressing their heathen foes is sometimes borrowed from the French epics: *putu son*, for instance, is a translation of *fiils de putain*. In one of the later sagas all the approved ingredients of the French models are present — save that here it is the French themselves who are represented as idolatrous heathen. It is through examples such as those in the foregoing, and through an uncounted number of still more significant phases of French influence difficult to classify and therefore not included in Prof. S.'s survey, that the fundamental assumptions of the *lygisögur* stand forth in relief. If they did not improve on literature by making woman the center of things Icelandic, at least they showed a native characteristic in preferring action to meditation and especially in avoiding the long, amorous monologues indulged in by the characters of Chrétien de Troyes. "If they are in love, they do something about it, both women and men."

Folkloristic and other problems perforce omitted in the book but counted as among the most fascinating in the whole field of comparative literature are interestingly hinted in Chapter VII, the *Conclusion*. We share the author's advice to specialists in French literature to cease the unfortunate habit of leaving the Scandinavian languages out of account. To the personal knowledge of the reviewer there are probably less than half a dozen outstanding French "comparatists" today who are able to read Icelandic versions of foreign originals. It takes that knowledge to see what liberties were taken by translators and adaptors and to penetrate into the whole storehouse of extravaganzas represented by the *lygisögur*.

Those who (like this reviewer) were privileged to attend the late Harvard Professor William H. Schofield's lectures on Chivalry (at the University of Copenhagen many years ago), may recall his significant reference to the unpublished records in Icelandic saga MSS. The distinguished contribution of his enthusiastic pupil, H. G. Leach, the first secretary of the American Scandinavian Foundation, really opened up the study of the *lygisögur*, at least in this country. Now the good work is carried on by Professor Margaret Schlauch, who combines insight with a refreshing outlook. Moreover, her book



has artistic proportions; learning does not encroach on the flow of presentation,<sup>2</sup> and footnotes are limited to necessities. She spent years in research at libraries in this country and abroad, and a personal visit to Iceland lends welcome "atmosphere" to her introduction of the subject. The usefulness of the volume is enhanced by an index and an appendix on Translations and Adaptations before 1550.

THOR J. BECK

LUBBOCK, TEXAS

#### A POEM OF THE CYCLE OF GUILLAUME D'ORANGE

*Les Enfances Guillaume, Chanson de Geste du XIIIe Siècle*, publiée par Patrice Henry, Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1935, XLIII + 167 pp.

This volume is a critical edition of *Les Enfances Guillaume*. This poem, although far from being one of the best in the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange, is not without interest, and, in spite of the fact that it had been already published several times, we are glad to see this edition appear in the *Société des Anciens Textes*.

The editor follows the method of the previous volumes of the series. He begins with an introduction which contains an analysis of the poem, a classification of the MSS and a dissertation about the language of the author; then follows the text completed by a rather copious vocabulary.

The first thing which strikes us on opening this volume is that, although M. Henry knows the seven MSS of the poem and takes the trouble of classifying them, he gives us the variants of one of them only, the MS 192 of Boulogne-sur-Mer. It is true that in many poems the various MSS have an entirely different text and it is then impossible to give the variants, but this is not the case with *Les Enfances Guillaume* where all the MSS are very similar to one another. If M. Henry had given all the variants, it would be easy, in case a new MS is found some day, to tell at once to what family it belongs; but, as this edition stands, this is impossible and the work is, therefore, far from being as useful as it might be. In point of fact Herman Hingst's edition (*Enfances Guillaume*, Greifswald, Hartmann, 1918), which M. Henry calls *défectueuse*, is in this respect much more useful than his own.

Going over the text and comparing it with the MS, we also notice a great number of wrong readings which surely ought to have been avoided in a poem which has been several times published. We find for instance: 153 en (*ms. an*); 228 chescune (*ms. chescuns*); 296 roi (*ms. rois*); 301 assaut (*ms. asaut*); 356 coi (*ms. c'or*); 543 chiés (*ms. chier*); 598 paiens (*ms. paieins*); 1159 atandiez (*ms. atandeiz*); 1159 vos fiez (*ms. voz fiez*); 1315 gent (*ms. jant*); 1375 fenestre (*ms. fenestre*); 1508 desfendre (*ms. desfandre*); 1532 batailles (*ms. baitailes*); 1546 fit (*ms. fist*); 1590 pluis (*ms. plus*); 1599 ramainrés (*ms. remainrés*); 1623 tant cors (*ms. tans cors*); 1706 il li ait (*ms. il i ait*); 1728 demante (*ms. demance*); 1752 faite (*ms. faites*); 1763 devant sa guimpe (*ms. devant en sa guimpe*); 1880 damoiselle (*ms. damoisele*); 1910 chacuns

<sup>2</sup> Only the animating eleven lines of the Greek poem *Sophrosyne*, by Meliteniotes, on page 162, might better have been in a note and rendered into English prose for the benefit of the less erudite readers.

(*ms. chascuns*); 1934 en sa main (*ms. an sa main*); 2049 apellent (*ms. apellent*); 2056 ceolz (*ms. ceolz*); 2155 se ce non (*ms. se se non*); 2281 porcession (*ms. prosession*); 2288 esgardé (*ms. esguardé*); 2315 des mostier (*ms. del mostier*); 2561 li amoient auferrant (*ms. li amoient un auferrant*); 2670 refusai (*ms. refuserai*); 2871 conuit (*ms. connuit*); 2969 das (*ms. dars*); 2984 oreiz (*ms. oreis*).

In a good number of instances, M. Henry has corrected the reading of the MS. Our opinion on this point is that we ought to follow the MS as closely as possible and to correct it only when there is an evident mistake. In many editions of poems in which an editor has corrected the MS, everybody has been able to notice that the original reading which was supposed to be faulty was in point of fact to be preferred to the correction. M. Henry is no exception to this rule. For instance, line 269 reads in the MS:

"Iluec tandrions ton pavillon de cie".

As the MS often confuses c and s, the word *cie* is evidently *sie* (Lat. *seta*, Mod. Fr. *soie*). M. Henry does not admit this reading and changes the line to:

"Iluec tandrions ton pavillon de Sire".

M. Henry knows the word *cie* with the meaning of *soie* since it already appeared in published editions of the poem; but he tells us in a note that it ought to be rejected because the only example of *sie* with the meaning of *soie* quoted by Godefroy is an erroneous correction of Groeber.

In point of fact, the word *sie* with the meaning of *soie* is a well known word in Old French. Opening at random one of the best known among the *chansons de geste*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, we find:

"Son chief benda d'une bende de sie" (5263)

"Et vit B. en un bliaut de sie" (5573).

Whenever M. Henry finds the word *cor* in the MS, he writes it *c'or* and does not seem to suspect the existence of the word *cor* in Old French. But the word *cor* (Lat. *quare*) exists in Old French as well as in Provençal. Its existence has been proved by Foerster in the note to line 457 of his edition of *Ille et Galeron* and its etymology has been discussed by Anglade in his *Grammaire de l'ancien provençal* (p. 170). Although in many instances both *cor* and *c'or* make a plausible reading, there are some cases in which *c'or* is evidently inadmissible, as in line 1562, which M. Henry writes as follows:

"Dist l'uns a l'autre: 'C'or lanson or a lui!'"

With regard to the resolving of the abbreviations, which in M. Henry is often arbitrary, we will call attention to the spelling of the word Guillaume which is almost always abbreviated Guill. or G. in the *chansons de geste*. Editors of these poems generally write it Guillaume or Guillelme. M. Henry writes it Guillaume or Guillame, but never Guillelme. There are cases, however, in which this name is found as the final word in a *laisse* in e . . . e, and in these cases it ought to be spelled Guillelme. This happens in lines 508, 513, 1021, 1030, 1166, 1186, 1360, 1369, 1374, 1790, 2942. By writing it Guillaume or Guillame in these lines, M. Henry gives a wrong idea of the language of the poet, since he leads us to believe that the poet introduces the assonance a . . . e in a *laisse* in e . . . e, which is not the case.

Departing from a custom followed in the volumes of the *Société des Anciens Textes*, M. Henry spells out the numbers instead of writing them with Roman

numerals, and, in our opinion, this is a good change. Unfortunately, he often confuses the subject and the oblique cases and he writes *dui* for *dous* (601), *dous* for *dui* (1477), *uns* for *un* (2413), etc.

The study of the language of the MS is incomplete. The editor might have called our attention to the following points: passage of initial *e* to *a*: *ausiés*, *apaule*, *apie*, etc., *l* > *r*: *mur*, *osteir*, *au* > *a*: *essasait*, *savaige*, absence of euphonic *d* between *n* and *r*: *vainrait*, *tanremant*, *pranrait*, etc. Moreover, the editor has not studied at all the language of the original. The assonances *leiz* in *a laisse* in *i* (1973), *true* in *a laisse* in *ie* (2014) might have furnished him, however, precious indications.

JOSEPH L. PERRIER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

#### UNE BELLE ETUDE SUR CLÉMENT MAROT

J. Vianey, *Les Épîtres de Marot*, Paris, 1935, 176 pp.

Monsieur Vianey, qui avait déjà écrit tant d'ouvrages remarquables, vient de publier, dans l'excellente collection "Les Grands Événements littéraires," une très belle étude sur Marot.

"Marot," nous dit M. V., "a eu cette bonne fortune que son œuvre ait été étudiée par des érudits de haute classe, qui sont en même temps des lettrés de grand goût: Guiffrey, Becker, Abel Lefranc, Pierre Villey, Henry Guy." . . . "Nous-même, qui avons utilisé largement des travaux d'une telle qualité, nous n'avons pas prétendu faire autre chose que de mettre à la portée du grand public ce qui peut l'aider à mieux goûter les meilleures épîtres qui aient été faites en notre langue."

M. V. nous dit d'abord ce qu'était l'épître avant Marot. Dans ce premier chapitre, M. V. avait pour guide le "magistral ouvrage de Henry Guy, aussi remarquable par la verve de l'exposition que par l'abondance de l'information et la sagacité des jugements: *Histoire de la Poésie française au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, I (Paris, 1910)."

Qu'est-ce au juste vers 1513 qu'un rhétoricien, demande M. V., qui nous parle d'Octovien de Saint-Gelays (†1502), de Molinet (†1507), d'André de la Vigne, et surtout du plus grand, — du seul grand — parmi eux, de Jean Lemaire de Belges. Celui-ci avait composé en 1503 le *Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*, où il célébrait la mémoire du duc Pierre de Bourbon, Sire de Baujeu, dont il était un des courtisans, à Villefranche-sur-Saône. M. V. fait remarquer que "de la seigneurie de Beaujeu, [Jean Lemaire] n'avait que la Saône à franchir pour passer dans la principauté des Dombes chez le duc de Savoie." "Aussi," nous dit-il, "après qu'on l'a vu pour quelques mois au service d'un protecteur de moindre importance, on le trouve installé à la cour de Savoie." Je crois qu'il aurait été bon de signaler que Villefranche se trouve près de Lyon, car c'est, en effet, cette ville frontière qui était le centre intellectuel et artistique de la France, et que c'était là que se réunissaient, au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, peintres, poètes, savants, dont les œuvres étaient imprimées par les hommes célèbres qui s'appellent Sébastien Gryphe, Etienne Dolet, Jean de Tournes. . . . Aussi n'est-ce pas le voisinage des Dombes qui permit à Jean Lemaire de passer chez le duc de

Savoie, en traversant la Saône; mais c'est bien plutôt parce que Jean Lemaire était attiré par Lyon, ville alors semi-italienne, où il avait des amis comme Jean Perréal, qu'il put solliciter la protection de la duchesse de Savoie. Il faut, d'ailleurs, se rappeler que le "protecteur de moindre importance" auquel Jean Lemaire avait dédié le *Temple*, c'était Louis de Luxembourg, comte de Ligny, cousin germain de Charles VIII. Il existe, d'autre part, des épîtres extrêmement intéressantes, écrites avec verve et bonne humeur, entre le comte de Ligny et le rhétoriqueur Jean Picart; la dernière lettre du Comte à Jean Picart est datée de la fin d'octobre 1503. Deux mois après, Louis de Luxembourg mourut à Lyon où fut célébré le service funèbre dans l'église Saint-Jean. C'est alors seulement que Jean Lemaire s'adressa à Marguerite d'Autriche et il ne dédia la *Plainte du Désiré* à cette princesse qu'après avoir d'abord offert cette "déploration" à Anne de Bretagne qui résidait à Lyon à ce moment-là.

M. V. montre bien la transition par laquelle on passe des rhétoriciens à Clément Marot. Il indique aussi comment Ronsard composa de véritables épîtres sans les intituler *épîtres* et semble vouloir "par un mauvais orgueil, se disculper d'être le continuateur, l'imitateur de Marot." Aussi apparaît-il de plus en plus nettement, comme l'ont déjà démontré plusieurs savants, qu'il n'y a pas de fossé entre le *Moyen Age* et la *Renaissance* et que, d'autre part, malgré les déclarations hautaines et prétentieuses de la *Deffence*, Ronsard et les autres poètes de la Pléiade, "ayant ensemble dépassé les bornes, rétrogradent ensemble, sacrifiant quelques-uns de leurs principes pour revenir, jusqu'à un certain point, à des traditions naguère abandonnées" (Cf. P. Laumonier, *Ronsard, Poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909, p. 90).

M. V. montre aussi le goût qu'avaient le XVII<sup>e</sup> et le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles pour le "genre marotique"; il cite une phrase de La Croix du Maine qui est reprise par la Harpe; ce dernier déclare, en effet, que Marot "eut un talent infiniment supérieur à tout ce qui l'a précédé et même à tout ce qui l'a suivi jusqu'à Malherbe." (*Cours de littérature*, IV, 1813, 208)

J'ai mentionné la fortune du rondeau en France au XVII<sup>e</sup>, au XVIII<sup>e</sup>, et au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans une note qui paraîtra dans les *Modern Language Notes* et j'ai indiqué que les auteurs de rondeaux ont imité Marot à travers Voiture et à travers La Fontaine.<sup>1</sup>

Il reste à dire tout le charme de l'étude de M. V. Celui-ci a commenté les épîtres de Marot avec beaucoup de finesse, et a su faire de cette étude érudite une œuvre littéraire du goût le plus délicat.<sup>2</sup>

MARCEL FRANÇON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

<sup>1</sup> Celui-ci composa un rondeau redoublé à l'imitation du *rondeau parfait* à ses amis après sa délivrance de Clément Marot.

<sup>2</sup> M. P. Jourda déclare avec beaucoup de justesse, en son compte rendu de la *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* (avril-juin, 1936, p. 303), que les trois livres de M. V. sur Ronsard, sur Du Bellay et sur Marot "constituent la meilleure initiation — et la plus élégante — à l'étude des poètes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle."

Evidemment M. V. n'a pas cité tous les ouvrages qui se rapportent au sujet qu'il traite; il donne, d'autre part, la thèse de Molinier sur Octovien de Saint-Gelays comme étant de 1920, tandis qu'elle fut imprimée la même année que le livre de M. Guy à qui M. l'abbé Molinier rend hommage.

## UNE IMPORTANTE ADDITION A LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE BALZACIENNE

Honoré de Balzac, *Correspondance inédite avec Madame Zulma Carraud*, publiée par M. Marcel Bouteron dans la collection "Ames et Visages" chez Armand Colin, Paris, 1935, 352 pp.

"Honoré, bien cher, je suis toute dévouée à ce qui peut vous être utile, agréable, à tout ce qui peut vous servir en quelque chose. *Quel que soit l'événement* qui vous menace, mon cœur et ma maison sont vôtres; . . . Si même il s'agissait d'un service dont le motif vous répugnât ou vous embarrassât à exposer, . . . que je sache en quoi vous obliger, je ne veux pas savoir pourquoi je vous oblige." (Lettre de Mme Carraud). C'est ainsi que s'exprimait cette femme charmante qui, pendant plus de trente ans, donna à Balzac les preuves du plus rare dévouement et de la plus désintéressée et sincère amitié qu'il soit donné à un homme de connaître.

Dans ses lettres Mme Carraud nous apparaît comme une femme d'une supériorité exceptionnelle dans le milieu bourgeois qui était le sien. Fort instruite, ayant beaucoup lu, d'une exquise délicatesse d'esprit et de cœur, elle était douée aussi d'un sens critique "très fin et très sûr" que Balzac estimait au plus haut point. "Vous êtes mon public, lui écrivait-il, vous et quelques âmes d'élite auxquelles je veux plaire; mais surtout à vous, que je suis fier de connaître, . . . vous qui m'aidez à me perfectionner." Balzac n'a pas toujours tenu compte des critiques de son amie, cependant il prenait la peine d'expliquer ou de justifier telle ou telle partie de son œuvre qui les avait provoquées. Ce n'est pas seulement dans le domaine littéraire que le romancier apprécie et souvent sollicite l'opinion de Zulma Carraud; avec elle, il aime aussi à discuter politique, mariage, affaires et autres sujets où elle fait preuve d'un esprit pratique et clairvoyant qui souvent manque à Balzac lorsqu'il se laisse entraîner par son imagination.

Les lettres de Mme Carraud sont pleines d'une sollicitude amicale, quasi maternelle; elle lui prodigue des conseils pour la conduite de sa vie privée ou publique, elle le met en garde contre les hommes d'affaires, les embûches de la politique, les désillusions possibles; elle s'inquiète de tout ce qui pourrait faire tort à sa réputation d'homme ou d'écrivain, de tout ce qui pourrait ternir sa gloire. Aux heures de détresse elle est la consolatrice. Son amitié à cette intuition féminine qui lui permet d'aller au fond des souffrances à demi-avouées et lui fait trouver les paroles qui pansent les blessures du cœur ou celles de l'amour-propre. Les lettres de Mme Carraud ont bien souvent réconforté le romancier aux moments où il avait le plus besoin des consolations d'une amitié sincère.

Les lettres de Balzac à Mme Carraud sont une source précieuse de renseignements sur ses idées politiques et sociales, son train de vie, ses embarras financiers, ses opinions sur les sujets les plus variés, la gestation pénible de ses œuvres, les déboires de sa vie d'homme de lettres (procès avec l'éditeur Mame pour le *Médecin de Campagne*, froideur du public envers *Louis Lambert*, difficultés avec la *Revue de Paris* et la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, etc.), ses découragements, ses ambitions et ses peines de cœur (Mme de Castries). Mais ce qui fait surtout l'intérêt et le charme de ces lettres, c'est la simplicité, la sincérité qui s'en dégage. De toutes ses correspondantes, Zulma Carraud est celle à qui Balzac



s'est montré avec le plus de franchise, celle à qui il a laissé entrevoir ses sentiments les plus intimes, ses pensées les plus secrètes. Mieux que partout ailleurs nous pénétrons dans le cœur et l'âme du grand romancier.

On ne saurait donc trop insister sur l'importance de ces lettres au nombre de 135; plus de la moitié furent échangées pendant ces années de 1829 à 1835 qui constituent une des périodes les plus curieuses de la vie et de la carrière littéraire de Balzac.

La plupart des lettres qui composent la correspondance avec Zulma Carraud sont totalement inédites. Pour les autres, Monsieur Bouteron nous en avait déjà donné des extraits dans une série d'articles intitulée *Une Amitié de Balzac* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1923); en outre, une quarantaine de lettres de Balzac à Zulma se trouvent dans la *Correspondance générale* (édition Lévy), mais pour ces dernières, les dates sont souvent fausses et les textes erronés et tronqués.

Les lettres publiées maintenant dans leur intégralité et au complet, peuvent donc avec juste raison prendre le titre de *Correspondance inédite*. Le nom de M. Marcel Bouteron nous garantit un classement soigné, éclairé, et un texte sûr; sa science de la vie de Balzac lui a permis, au moyen de notes et de commentaires intercalés entre les lettres, d'expliquer certains points qui, sans cela, seraient obscurs. Grâce à ces commentaires il n'y a point de solution de continuité et la lecture de la correspondance est attachante comme celle d'un roman. De plus, un index alphabétique des noms propres et une table analytique détaillée des sujets traités font de ce recueil un instrument de travail de premier ordre.

RENÉ DAUDON

UNIVERSITÉ DE PENNSYLVANIE

#### L'IDÉOLOGIE DE MAURICE BARRÈS

Henri-L. Miéville, *La Pensée de Maurice Barrès*, Paris, Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Critique, 1934, 248 pp.

Il y a deux manières d'aborder l'étude de la pensée d'un écrivain: on peut d'abord, la considérant en elle-même, chercher à en établir la modalité et la portée; on peut ensuite, se plaçant à un point de vue critique, tenter d'apprécier la valeur qu'elle a pour autrui, son enseignement, sa "signification humaine". Dans le cas de Barrès, "animateur" et "sèmeur d'idées", dieu de la jeune génération d'avant-guerre, ce second point de vue s'imposait, et c'est sans doute la présence de cet élément accompagnant, comme un thème secondaire, l'exposé analytique des idées proprement dites de Barrès, qui fait de l'étude de M. Miéville un ouvrage singulièrement intéressant. Une certaine oscillation d'un de ces points de vue à l'autre, qu'on serait tenté au premier abord de reprocher à l'auteur, loin de nuire à la netteté de l'étude, semble en définitive l'étoffer et comme la corser.

C'est avec une sympathie réelle, mais qui n'offusque en rien son objet, que M. Miéville semble s'être penché sur cette pensée qui, comme il le dit en citant Barrès lui-même, est plutôt une "idéologie passionnée". En effet, la sensibilité dominait chez Barrès: sa pensée en était comme conditionnée. Son effort in-



tellectuel a consisté essentiellement en un effort de se refaire des certitudes, et non en une recherche désintéressée de la vérité. M. Miéville expose, avec une clarté qui ne connaît pas la défaillance, les diverses étapes de la pensée barrésienne: le *culte du moi*, d'abord, issu d'une volonté de sentir plutôt que de connaître, où "être soi et jouir de soi" semble le mot de l'énigme de la vie, de cette vie qui "n'a pas de sens". A cet égoïsme violent et à sa faillite succède un élargissement apparent qui se traduit dans le culte de la terre et de ses morts, proclamation du *traditionalisme* comme source de discipline. Enfin viennent, sans d'ailleurs qu'il y ait eu évolution en ligne droite, le *régionalisme* et le *nationalisme*, tentatives de rattacher l'individu d'une part à sa patrie au sens le plus étroit du terme, puis à l'unité nationale conçue comme une prépotence.

Avec un art consommé de mettre en rapport et d'éclairer réciproquement les différents aspects d'une pensée aussi diverse et flottante — "intermédiaire entre l'intelligence et la rêverie", a dit Thibaudet —, M. Miéville s'étend ensuite sur les opinions de Barrès en politique (affaire Dreyfus, germanisme) et en matière religieuse (catholicisme). S'élevant enfin au-dessus de son sujet pour mieux le dominer, il le soupèse, l'apprécie, porte des jugements de valeur. En dépit de cette sympathie réelle que nous avons déjà soulignée et d'une estime qu'il a soin d'exprimer, ce n'est pas sans sévérité qu'il se prononce: il montre que l'égotiste en Barrès, "l'égotiste qui juge de toutes choses en fonction de son moi, d'un moi qui veut être ému, bercé, préservé . . . pourrait être le fond de Barrès. L'autre Barrès, celui qui a une 'conscience intellectuelle' comme dirait Nietzsche, n'est qu'un Barrès épisodique et subordonné" (p. 194).

L'impression qui se dégage de la présente étude, c'est que la pensée de Barrès est restée de l'idéologie: elle n'a pas atteint à la philosophie. Ce "sensuel cérébral" n'avait rien de la profondeur, de la fermeté, ni de la richesse intérieure de Goethe à qui on a voulu le comparer; sa pensée trop souvent évite l'aspect le plus grave d'un conflit, reste à la surface et flottante, refuse de prendre position et d'accepter le sacrifice inséparable de toute prise de parti.

En somme, ce qui frappe le lecteur, c'est avant tout, sans doute, l'aspect essentiellement négatif de la personnalité et, par suite, de la pensée de Barrès. Ses instincts, pas plus que son intelligence, ne sont robustes. La mort, "nos morts", "nos tombes", ces mots reviennent sans cesse. Idéologie d'anémique, serait-on tenté de dire. Lui-même n'a-t-il pas déclaré: "Mon évolution ne fut jamais une course vers quelque chose, mais une fuite vers ailleurs"? Témoignage précieux, à retenir et à méditer. N'est-ce pas d'ailleurs par cet aspect même de son talent que Barrès s'apparente étrangement à son époque? N'y a-t-il pas là, en effet, davantage qu'une affaire de tempérament personnel? Aux sources de la pensée barrésienne M. Miéville ne fait allusion qu'à deux ou trois reprises et en passant. Il aurait pu, sans danger d'allonger outre mesure, leur faire la place un peu plus large. Son étude, si attachante, si riche, si bien présentée, y aurait encore gagné en perspective historique et même en profondeur humaine.

JACQUELINE DE LA HARPE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

## UN TABLEAU DE LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISE CONTEMPORAINE

Christian Sénéchal, *Les Grands Courants de la Littérature française contemporaine*, Paris, Malfère, 1934, 460 pp.

Christian Sénéchal, après avoir donné des ouvrages sur le groupe de l'Abbaye de Créteil et sur Romain Rolland, a élargi cette fois son horizon: cette œuvre-ci offre un vaste panorama de la littérature française depuis la génération d'avant-guerre jusqu'à nos jours. Sénéchal sait simplifier, il est vrai, un programme aussi chargé, en insistant sur les aspects intellectuels et psychologiques du sujet. Il laisse délibérément de côté le point de vue artistique et les questions purement littéraires: les influences données et reçues, les origines et les causes profondes ou lointaines des mouvements qu'il étudie.

C'est donc un tableau que nous avons à considérer. Et sous ce rapport et avec ces restrictions le livre de M. Sénéchal peut être doublement précieux, comme répertoire critique d'abord, puis par ses analyses fragmentées des courants littéraires contemporains.

Il n'existe probablement pas d'ouvrage qui donne de façon aussi détaillée, à chaque chapitre, pour chaque division, une liste aussi complète et raisonnée d'auteurs et d'œuvres. Les écrivains moins connus même n'y sont pas oubliés, ni ceux dont l'œuvre d'un genre différent dans l'ensemble, a pu cependant toucher à un certain moment la question traitée. Chaque auteur est étudié en plusieurs endroits différents, selon les divers aspects de son œuvre. Gide, pour donner un exemple, est examiné comme "sensualiste intellectuel" avec Paul Valéry; il est placé avec Jules Renard, Romain Rolland, Proust, Péguy, Colette et Mme de Noailles parmi ceux qui possèdent "la volonté de vérité intérieure"; il s'occupe des problèmes religieux comme Barrès et Romain Rolland; avec Proust et Romain Rolland encore il a cherché une nouvelle formule de roman; il a essayé enfin d'unir l'art et la vie en "assurant le plus possible d'humanité". Tous ces points de vue, essentiels à la compréhension de Gide, sont donc étudiés séparément et mettent en lumière les tendances différentes de l'écrivain en les rapprochant des tendances similaires d'autres écrivains contemporains.

Pour préciser les vues d'ensemble, se trouvent en plusieurs endroits des tableaux, des listes d'auteurs et de leurs ouvrages, groupés avec ordre et choisis parmi les plus représentatifs de l'époque ou du mouvement examinés. Enfin avec une table des matières détaillée et un excellent "Index des noms d'auteurs réellement étudiés dans ce livre" il est assez facile de ne pas s'égarer dans cette abondance de faits et de références.

La façon de diviser son sujet est originale, non pas dans les trois grandes parties qui composent le livre, "Les générations d'avant-guerre, de la guerre, d'après-guerre", mais dans la manière de fragmenter chacune de ces parties. M. Sénéchal cherche à classer auteurs et courants en partant d'un point de vue surtout psychologique et social, selon des formules neuves. De la période d'avant-guerre il ne retiendra que les auteurs qui ont eu une influence sur notre génération et il ne s'occupe pas des gloires déclinantes.

C'est ainsi qu'après avoir étudié brièvement "l'œuvre de reconstruction", la politique (Dreyfus, Maurras), la philosophie (Bergson), la morale (Sangnier), il passe à l'examen des "modes de connaissance du monde", groupant les auteurs

dans différents "camps": celui de l'intelligence, ceux de la sensation et de l'intuition. Puis il arrive à l'analyse plus précise des tendances en littérature: le théâtre, la chanson, la littérature populaire (R. Rolland); il découvre ensuite le début du mouvement régionaliste, l'effort vers la sincérité (Gide, Proust), pour lequel la place accordée n'est peut-être pas suffisante; l'héroïsme et le culte du héros avec Barrès; les problèmes religieux; "l'essor vers l'univers", chapitre peut-être artificiel; enfin les styles et les techniques (Claudel, Gide).

L'étude de la génération de la guerre est plus détaillée encore: après une "vue d'ensemble" indispensable sont examinés successivement la tendance au naturisme; l'amour de la vie (Jacques Rivière); puis l'approfondissement des méthodes psychologiques, le développement de la littérature prolétarienne (Vildrac) et du régionalisme déjà indiqués à propos de la génération précédente; la transformation de l'exotisme en littérature de voyage (Valéry Larbaud) et d'aventures; la découverte de l'amitié (Jules Romains); l'importance de l'idéal, de l'héroïsme; la tendance à l'évasion par le merveilleux et la fantaisie (L. P. Fargue, Giraudoux) sur laquelle il eût fallu peut-être insister davantage; les problèmes religieux enfin et la recherche d'une foi (Mauriac). Cette seconde partie, qui développe ainsi beaucoup des tendances indiquées dans la première se termine également par un aperçu sur le renouvellement des styles et des techniques.

L'auteur recommence un travail analogue pour les générations d'après-guerre, mais beaucoup plus brièvement; d'abord parce que le nombre des bons écrivains de cette génération n'est pas encore très grand, puis parce que tout critique, en abordant la période actuelle devient plus circonspect et craint de prononcer des jugements qui ne seront pas ratifiés par la postérité.

Après une "vue d'ensemble" au cours de laquelle il essaie de juger rapidement le Dadaïsme et le Surréalisme, Ch. Sénéchal passe une dernière fois en revue les divers types de roman (psychologique, régionaliste, prolétarien, d'évasion . . .) et leur évolution; il signale ensuite les aspects les plus nouveaux, les "révolutionnaires" du lyrisme et les derniers efforts du cinéma et du théâtre.

La conclusion du livre est intéressante, avec ses grands aperçus généraux, comme cet "essai de synthèse de la littérature de la civilisation" et quelques pages sur les "synchronismes européens". Le livre se termine enfin par une bibliographie des ouvrages critiques de littérature contemporaine dont la brièveté prouve une fois de plus que la critique de ses propres contemporains est une tâche délicate et peu recherchée.

Cette longue énumération est forcément trop sèche; elle ne rend pas justice au travail énorme qui a été accompli. Il était impossible ici de résumer tous les faits et toutes les idées dont le livre est rempli. Les quelques noms indiqués çà et là ne peuvent faire sentir le fourmillement de citations, de noms d'auteurs et d'œuvres qui illustrent chaque section. Comme livre de lecture ce volume semblera sans doute trop touffu, trop fragmenté, peut-être même désordonné; comme livre de référence au contraire ou pour suivre les auteurs au cours de l'évolution d'un mouvement, il se classe certainement parmi les ouvrages les plus utiles et les plus intéressants.

ARMAND BÉGUÉ

## FRENCH BOOKNOTES

Charles Upson Clark, *Voyageurs, Robes Noirs, et Coureurs de Bois*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., New York, 1934, XIV + 391 pp.

If the 19th century was responsible for the great awakening of interest in relation to the past and especially the Middle Ages, with all the studies in philology, in archaic literatures, in old forms of architecture that have appeared, and are still coming before the public, then certainly this book dealing with early civilization in this country, as revealed through the French missionaries and explorers, has its place in the same field. That civilizations older than ours have been mindful of the past in their search for truth, and that we, a much younger race, should also be so mindful, but strengthens the link that binds us to the older world. What better proof of a race young in its integrity and bold in its claim to an interesting and varied past is needed than that which this type of interest affords! Dr. Clark has given here an interesting and colorful picture of the deeds and exploits of the French in the North, especially in Quebec. He hopes later to present, in similar manner, the early interest among the French settlers in the South, and a still further one dealing with exploits in the Southwest and the Far West by the early Spaniards, from De Soto and Cabeza de Vaca up to the time of the *padres* in California.

One reads with interest the terrible deeds of the Indians in their desire for torture. One learns also of the awful courage and the daring spirit of defiance which forms so great a part of their character. And one will turn over the pages hurriedly either to be done with these deeds of torture and wrangling, or else to look anxiously ahead to the next passage in which the French Fathers and explorers tell of their own difficulties. With interest he will pass from one conquest to another, as these French explorers gain ground, even under the strain of terrific hardships. But most of all, perhaps, he will enjoy the revelation that comes to light in the fact that the French who were used to an easier life in France, even in the face of the religious persecutions at the time of the Huguenots, were forced in a certain measure to accept the Indians' mode of living, as they came in contact with them.

Cadillac's long account of the Indians (pp. 34-65), which shows plainly enough the reason for the French people's being able to cope more easily with the Indian than the Spanish or the English, because of their sympathy with them; the description of the great earthquake of 1663, supposed to be the worst any white man had known on this continent, as given by Father Lalemont; Father Dreuillette's report of his embassy from Quebec in 1650 to the New England Colonies; the account of a vast bootlegging system in Quebec as seen from the Quebec Council's debate over its prohibition; these and many more make the book as fascinating and instructive as its title suggests: *Voyageurs, Robes Noirs, et Coureurs de Bois*.

JOHN MATTHEW

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

B. Graham, *Famous Literary Prizes and Their Winners*, Revised and Enlarged by H. Murray, New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1935, XV + 57 pp.  
*Best books are here listed in terms of best awards.*

The plan of this little volume is commendable, although the names of literary prizes and their winners are far from complete. For example, in the section entitled *Continental Prizes*, the Romance Language field is represented by a limited number of French awards, — no mention being made of possible Spanish honors, and mere cross-references being cited for the Italian.

More informative and detailed listings would, therefore, increase the usefulness of this otherwise practical volume.

ROSE-MARIE DAELE

HUNTER COLLEGE, EXTENSION

#### ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Marcel Pagnol, *Topaze*, edited by Arthur Gibbon Bovée, D. C. Heath & Co., 1936, 162 pp., plus exercises and vocabulary.

Jacques Deval, *Tovaritch*, edited by Frédéric Ernst and Hélène Harvitt, Henry Holt & Co., 1937, 170 pp., plus introduction, questionnaire and vocabulary.

It is most encouraging to find the editors of class-texts publishing within the same season two such good contemporary plays as *Topaze* and *Tovaritch*, for theatrical works often provide classroom material with decided advantages over that drawn from novels and collections of stories. *Le monde où l'on s'ennuie* is no longer a novelty, if it ever was one, and even *Knock* in the edition of Prof. A. D. Menut and the late Dwight Chapman, which should serve as a model for such publications, cannot be read every year.

Both *Topaze* and *Tovaritch* have received hearty applause during long runs on the stage; the former has even been filmed as will doubtless the latter also, now that it has gone half the way to Hollywood by finding a Broadway producer. To anyone who knows these plays only through reading, however, there seems to be a marked difference between them. M. Pagnol's play reads like a work destined for an amateur performance or for one of these near-amateur performances with which the government-subsidized French theatres often honor mediocre plays; it is difficult to imagine the inimitable and versatile M. Louis Jouvet in the title rôle. M. Deval's play, on the other hand, has such a professional touch in every detail that one can visualize any accomplished theatrical couple in the parts of Mikail and Tatiana. This does not necessarily indicate that the one may prove any less successful in the classroom than the other.

*Topaze* is too well known to need summarizing. This version of the story of how the worm turned is undeniably amusing if unconvincing. The satire of political corruption provides a universal and timeless theme. The scenes in the *lycée* are sure to interest our students. Though Prof. Bovée has abridged the play somewhat, nothing essential is lacking. The advisability of setting the vocabulary range at 3069 of the Vander Beke word list and translating in the notes all the words beyond this range, as he has done, is most doubtful: *Topaze* would hardly be appreciated by the student who needed all the help



given to him in these notes (there are 21 expressions translated in the stage-directions to the first scene and 8 on the first full page of text). The exercises seem to be very skillfully composed, but, of course, it remains impossible to judge them before actually trying them with a class.<sup>1</sup>

The tale of the noble Russian couple obliged, despite the vast imperial fortune in their name at the Banque de France, to take employment as servants in the household of a *député de gauche* is both diverting and dramatically moving. Professors Ernst and Harvitt have edited it judiciously though they have allowed a few missprints to slip by in the proof-reading.<sup>2</sup> The notes include more explanations in French than translations into English and this is as it should be. There is no reason why *Tovaritch* should not make a great success in college classes. Let no instructor hesitate to use it on the grounds that his students may have seen it on the American stage; even in New York, college students of today do not frequent the legitimate theatre.

Both of these editions are illustrated with photographs of the French performances; it is difficult to decide whether this adds to or detracts from the reader's pleasure. The utility of the map of Paris facing the title page of *Tovaritch* is particularly difficult to see since neither of the two streets named in the play, rue de la Glacière and Avenue de Tourville, is named on the map.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

M. Dondo and F. Ernst, *Principes de Grammaire et de Style. A Review Grammar and Composition*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1935, VII + 264 + LXXIII pp.

There have been many grammars prepared for the purpose of review work in French. However, they have been, in a large measure, purely mechanical and mastered only by those patient enough to memorize long lists of paradigms, — a procedure which, in no way, tests the student's aural-oral ability in the language.

Then again, composition books have often been equally unsatisfactory. The groping application of expressions and grammatical points, inadequately illustrated or obscurely hidden in a given passage, has not necessarily ameliorated the style of a student; — much less so has it increased his facility in writing.

These two essentials of modern language learning and teaching, — grammar and composition, — are progressively combined in the above work.

No doubt, this book will serve as a vitalizing force in language study. Its outstanding feature is the *Notes on the Reading* in which one finds clear, practical illustrations of the fundamental idiomatic subtleties, whose mastery

<sup>1</sup> The only doubtful points noticed in a study of the edition are both among the notes to p. 161. Tamise, referring to Suzy, says to Topaze: "C'est cette Dalila qui t'a rasé le poil?" Note 2 translates *poil* as "hair (of the body)". Topaze says to Tamise: "Ecoute, peux-tu venir me voir demain matin?" Tamise: "Oui, c'est jeudi." Note 3 explains that: "En France il n'y a pas de classes le jeudi après-midi."

<sup>2</sup> On the title page the date of the first performance is given as Oct. 15, 1933 and on p. x it is given as Oct. 14, 1933. Also p. x "Le Route des Indes"; p. 170, l. 7 "le fenêtre"; p. 145, l. 8 a question-mark for a period; p. 72, l. 21 a period for a comma.



is so essential to *le génie de la langue*. These supplementary notes form the third part of each one of the 20 lessons, the other divisions comprising a review of grammar and reading material dealing with present-day life in France.

As a concise, systematic exercise-book, and, as an ideal combination of conversational readings and *living grammar*, — all the while reenforced by ready reference to the more formal grammar, — this useful class-text is recommended for both High School and College students.

Guy de Maupassant, *Pierre et Jean*, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by A. Schaffer, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, XLVIII + 170 pp.

To the American reader, Guy de Maupassant is generally known as a master of short-story writing. His novels are less widely read, although they are no less characteristic of their author's rhythmic style and powerful depiction of French life.

One of Maupassant's novels, *Pierre et Jean*, was considered by Zola as "le joyau rare, l'œuvre de vérité et de grandeur qui ne peut être dépassée". As such, this psychological work, — in reality, a long short-story, — should occupy an important place among the class-readers now in use.

Miquel de Cervantes, *Aventuras de Don Quijote, A Simplified Version of the Most Important Episodes*, Edited by H. Alpern and J. Martel, Boston . . . , Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935, XI + 244 pp.

We now find, within easy access to the elementary student of Spanish, the adventures of the celebrated Don Quijote of windmill-fame, the knight who allowed his imagination to run rampant in a world of dream.

This adapted edition of one of the world's great classics is adeptly prepared: the exercises are well devised, — with possible exception to the "si or no" questions, — and the spirit of the work and incidents of the narrative remain no less characteristic of their author. Indeed, from the point of view of universal interest, this simplified rendition of the recognized masterpiece of Spanish literature compares as favorably as possible with the original.

ROSE-MARIE DAELE

HUNTER COLLEGE, EXTENSION

#### IN MEMORIAM: GUSTAVE LEOPOLD VAN ROOSBROECK

Little did the writer of these lines ever think that the sad duty would devolve upon him of writing the obituary of this brilliant young scholar and devoted friend and co-worker! But fate has willed otherwise, for Gustave Leopold van Roosbroeck, Assistant Professor of French and member of the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University, passed away on July 12, 1936.

Dr. van Roosbroeck was born at Antwerp, Belgium, on April 6, 1888. He was the son of Léopold François and Maria (De Volders) van Roosbroeck, both of whose families were famous in the history of Belgium, having contributed to the State, the Church, and scholarship and letters many distinguished personages — notably Ruysbroeck, the celebrated philosopher and mystic of the 14th century.

After having studied in the Institut Saint Norbert at Antwerp, young van Roosbroeck entered the University of Brussels, where he became one of the editors of a student-journal, *Jong Antwerpen* (Young Antwerp), to which he contributed some poems as well as a story in the style of Stijn Streuvels, "Een Ongeluk". When the review, *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, was launched by Josef Muls and Karel van den Oever, van Roosbroeck, who had passed his *baccalauréat*, became one of its *redactie*, or editors, and contributed thereto prose, verse and literary criticism under the pseudonym of Gust. Gusmans. One of his articles that attracted favorable attention was an ardent defense of Guido Gezelle against Emm. De Bom. At about the same time (1909), he published also a small volume of short stories, entitled *Sproken van Droom en Dood*.

Then van Roosbroeck began to turn to French as his medium of expression and published critical articles in the newspapers, *La Métropole* and *La Presse*, and verse in *L'Envol*, founded at Antwerp by Georges Buisseret. His reputation as a critic and writer was now so well established that André de Ridder invited him to collaborate with him in reviews in Holland and to contribute biographies of Pol de Mont and Charles Baudelaire to the series, *Mannen en Vrouwen van Beteekenis in onze Dagen*.

After a certain time the more liberal views of de Ridder and van Roosbroeck — expressed in an article by the latter on Jehan Rictus — brought them into conflict with the other member of the board of *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, and, consequently, they withdrew from this journal and founded *De Boomgaard* in 1910. As co-editor of this journal from 1910 to 1911, van Roosbroeck contributed a large number of articles to it, and, at the same time, became attached as a regular journalist to *De Nieuwe Gazet* of Antwerp, which connection he maintained until the end of August, 1914.

During the years, 1911-1914, van Roosbroeck wrote newspaper articles and anonymous pamphlets in a series entitled by him, *Antwerpsche Mannen*, and contributed poems, as well as an essay on Friedrich Nietzsche, to *De Vlaamsche Gids*.

When the War broke out, van Roosbroeck entered at once the Belgian army and served therein with distinction until the end of the year 1915, when, because of severe wounds received on the field of battle, he was given special leave to go abroad in order to recover his health. From England, where he went at first, he sent contributions to *De Vlaamsche Stem*, a review published in Holland by Belgian refugees.

Inasmuch as his shattered health failed to improve in England, van Roosbroeck was sent to New York, where his physician urged him to seek the more salubrious climate of the Northwest of the United States. Accordingly he went to the University of Minnesota where he was appointed Instructor in Romance Languages and was awarded the M.A. degree in 1916 and the Ph.D. degree in 1919. In 1918 he served as translator of foreign documents at \$1 per annum under the United States Government Enforcement of the Espionage and Trading with the Enemy Act. Thereafter he taught in the Summer Sessions of the University of Illinois (1922) and of Johns Hopkins University (1923-25), and was Lecturer in the Graduate School of New York University (1923-25).

Immediately after his appointment (1925) as Lecturer — which title was changed to Assistant Professor in 1928 — in the Faculty of Philosophy at Columbia, Dr. van Roosbroeck assumed the Business Managership of the *ROMANTIC REVIEW*, which, under his active and efficient administration, prospered so well that, in 1929, its subscription-list had increased more than twentyfold. Particularly gratifying was the increase in the number of foreign countries into which the *REVIEW* went — from one in 1925 to more than 32 four years later. During the same period he created the series of Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., the development of which is well known to all.

Dr. van Roosbroeck became a naturalized American citizen in 1921. The following year he was named *Membre d'Honneur* of the Société Académique d'Histoire Internationale of Rouen, and, in 1924, he was promoted to *Membre avec Etoile d'Or* of the same society. He was also founder and President of the Belgian Institute in the United States, Secretary for America of the Modern Humanities Research Association of Great Britain, Chairman of the Division of Belgian Languages and Literatures of the Modern Language Association of America, Associate Editor of *Books Abroad* (1929), and Corresponding Member of the Académie de Rouen. Other societies with which he was affiliated were the Société d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, the Société du Seizième Siècle, the Andiron Club of New York, etc. The Royal Belgian Government conferred on him the insignia of Knight of the Order of the Crown (1922) and of Knight of the Order of Leopold (1933).

He is survived by his widow, the former Marie de Graef of Antwerp, whom he married on May 10, 1912, and a son, Willy, now a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in mathematical physics at Columbia University.

Professor van Roosbroeck's brilliant and erudite contributions to the fields of French and comparative literature — which number more than 250 titles, published in the United States, France, Belgium, Holland, etc., and written in English, French and Flemish — won for him the highest praise from many distinguished foreign scholars, for, as Professor Daniel Mornet of the Sorbonne

wrote in 1933 in behalf of the Société d'Histoire Littéraire de la France: "No historian of French literature can, in fact, remain unacquainted with his important contributions to the history of this literature. They are as numerous as they are instructive". To these words Professor Paul Hazard of the Collège de France added that "the whole scholarly world is acquainted with his fine publications," for, wrote, at the same time, Professor Arthur Langfors in the name of the *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, "he has also had the satisfaction of seeing the press all over the world receive his productions with an interest which is seldom accorded to works of erudition." On the same occasion Professor Gustave Cohen of the Sorbonne wrote: "His highly original studies on Corneille and, more recently, his penetrating researches on *The Persian Letters Before Montesquieu* have placed him in the first rank of the historians of our modern French literature," while Professor Gustave Reynier of the same institution stated: "I have admired his marvellous activity, which has manifested itself in a most intelligent way, and in the most varied fields . . . I may say that I know of few university careers as rich and as fruitful as his." Indeed, no finer monument can be erected to his amazingly brilliant intellect than is contained in the following testimonial from Professor Pierre Jourda of the University of Montpellier: "Historian, critic, editor, inspirer, Professor van Roosbroeck is one of those before whose knowledge and disinterestedness we bow respectfully, realizing all that we owe to his labor and probity."

"Heart and mind join in a like tribute," stated Georges Virrès, the Belgian novelist, in regard to our much regretted colleague; while his beloved students "found him to be not only a stimulating teacher and an exacting scholar, but a friend as well". It is thus that we shall ever remember Gustave Leopold van Roosbroeck.

J. L. G.

PUBLICATIONS CONTAINING APPRECIATIONS OF THE WORK OF  
G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

- Neophilologus* (Jan., 1923): "The Researches of G. L. van Roosbroeck on Corneille", by Prof. K. R. Gallas.
- Vlaamsche Gids* (Belgium; June, 1926): "About G. L. van Roosbroeck", by André de Ridder (pp. 385-404). Followed by translations from his studies.
- Journal de Rouen* (Feb. 1, 1925): "Trois Parodies d'après *Le Cid* commentées par un Erudit américain", by Georges Dubosc. Also other articles by Dubosc in the same.
- Le Courrier Littéraire*: "Les Dessous du *Cid*", by Henriot.
- Histoire de la Littérature et de la Pensée françaises*, by Professor Daniel Mornet (Vol. II).
- Journal des Débats and Comœdia* (Paris): Discussions of lectures on G. L. van Roosbroeck's work given by Professor Abel Lefranc in the Collège de France.
- Zeitschrift für französische und englische Unterricht* (1932): "The Institute of French Studies, Columbia University," by Professor Arpad Steiner (pp. 299-301).
- Gazette de Lausanne* (Feb. 19, 1933): "Hommage à l'Amérique", by Professor René Bray.

*Le Figaro* (Paris, Feb. 9, 1933): Article by Professor J. Crépét.

*The Romanic Review* (April-June, 1933): Article by J. L. Gerig.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GUSTAVE LEOPOLD VAN ROOSBROECK BELGIAN LITERATURE

## I. ORIGINAL WORKS

### 1. PROSE

*Sproken van Droom en Dood*. (Tales of Dream and Death). Antwerp, 1907. *Grotesques* (in English). N. Y., Series of Living Art, 1929.

*Herfst-Sproke* (Autumn Tale). *De Groene Linde*, II, Antwerp, 1906, pp. 219-224.

*Psuke. Een Sproke*. (Psyche. A Tale). (With Magda Peeters). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, III, Antwerp, 1907, pp. 161-170.

*Mijmering* (Meditation). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, Antwerp, 1908, pp. 14-16.

*Muziek-Avond* (Fragment) (Music-Evening). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, Antwerp, 1908, pp. 114-117.

*De Dag des Oordeels* (Doomsday). *Vlaamsche Gids*, XIV, 9, June, 1926.

*Een God is gestorven* (A God has Died). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XXI, Antwerp, 1926, pp. 121-128.

### 2. POETRY

*Liedjes. De Zomerzuster*. (Songs. The Summer Sister). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, II, 1906, Antwerp, p. 175.

*Reidans. Zang voor tien maagden*. (Chorus. Song of the Ten Maidens). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, II, Antwerp, 1906, p. 176.

*Verzen* (Poems). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, III, Antwerp, 1907, p. 11.

*De Droomengarde* (Garden of Dreams). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, III, Antwerp, 1907, pp. 144-145.

*Zonne-Hymne* (Hymn to the Sun). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, Antwerp, 1908, p. 102.

*Vallis Amantium* (Vallis Amantium). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, Antwerp, 1908, pp. 265-266.

*Trois Poèmes in L'Envol*, 1910.

*Berijpt Bosch* (Befrosted Wood). *De Boomgaard*, I, 1909-1910, p. 176.

*Norturnale* (Nocturnal). *De Boomgaard*, I, 1909-1910, pp. 176-178.

*Sterren-Vaart* (Star-Faring). *De Boomgaard*, I, 1909-1910, pp. 178-179.

*Liederen van Illusie* (Songs of Illusion).

1. Daar vaalt een slot vol schemering, pp. 669-670.

2. Zwevend tusschen valsche hemelen, pp. 670-672.

3. Zwevend tusschen valsche hemelen, p. 672.

4. Komt dan, gulle goden-droomers, p. 673. *De Boomgaard*, I, 1909-1910.

*Na-Lied* (After-Song). *De Vlaamsche Gids*, VI, 1910, pp. 447-448.

*Deze Avond* (This Evening). *De Vlaamsche Gids*, VI, 1910, p. 449.

"The Golden Stairs". *De Vlaamsche Gids*, VI, 1910, pp. 450-451.

*Semiramis*. *De Boomgaard*, II, 1911, p. 245.

*Storm-Vreugde* (Storm-Joy). *De Boomgaard*, II, 1911, pp. 803-804.

*Aan den onbekenden God* (To the Unknown God). *De Vlaamsche Gids*, IX, 1913, pp. 66-67.

*Dat is een dieper smart. De Vlaamsche Gids*, VI, 1913, p. 68.

*De dag vliedt over verre meren. De Vlaamsche Gids*, VI, 1913, p. 69.

### 3. CRITICAL STUDIES

*Pol de Mont* (with A. de Ridder). H. D. Fjeenk Willinck, Haarlem, Holland, 1910.

*Guido Gezelle, the Mystic Poet of Flanders*. Kruse Publishing Co., Vinton, Iowa, 1919.

Het Katholicisme en "Lectuur". (Catholicism and "Lectuur"). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, I, 1905, pp. 118-120.

*Over Gezelle-Viering* (On the Celebration of Guido Gezelle). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, I, 1905, pp. 189-191.

*Over Rythmus. Naar aanleiding van Rene De Clercq's "Verzen"*. (On Rhythm. On the Occasion of Rene de Clercq's "Verses"). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, 1908, pp. 31-35.

*Over de Literatuur van den Dag. Karel van de Woestijne's "Janus met het Dubbele Voorhoofd"*. (On the Literature of the Day. Karel van de Woestijne's "Janus of the Double Forehead"). *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, 1908, pp. 73-76.

*Over de Beteekenis van Pol de Mont*. (On the Significance of Pol de Mont). *De Boomgaard*, I, 1909-1910, pp. 23-37.

*Enkele Beschouwingen over Karel van de Woestijne's Werk*. (Some Considerations on the Work of Karel van de Woestijne). (with André de Ridder). *De Boomgaard*, Antwerp, 1910.

*Referendum over den vijfjaarlijkschen prijs van Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. (Referendum about the Five-Year Prize of Flemish Literature). *De Boomgaard*, II, 1911, pp. 603-605.

Rossetti and Maeterlinck. *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 7, 1919, pp. 439-441.

*Guido Gezelle in The Great Literature of Small Nations*. Columbia University Course in Literature, VIII, 1929.

*Gauche and Belgian Letters. Books Abroad*, III, No. 3, July, 1929, pp. 195-197.

*Belgian Letters. Romanic Review*, XX, No. 3, July-Sept., 1929, pp. 271-274.

### 4. BOOK REVIEWS

Cyriel Buysse, *Het Leven van Rozeke van Dalen*. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, I, 1905, p. 121.

Herman Gorter, *Mei*. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, I, 1905, pp. 159-160.

Gustaaf D'Hondt, *Van Simpele Menschen*. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, II, 1906, pp. 93-94.

Belgian Literature: Emile Verhaeren (Elisabeth Küchler, *Das Stadserlebnis bei Verhaeren*, Hamburg, 1930; E. M. Grant, *French Poetry and Modern Industry, 1830-1870*, Cambridge, 1927). *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, pp. 66-70.

Belgian Literature: The Modern Belgian Novel (B. M. Woodbridge, *Le Roman Belge contemporain. Charles de Coster, Camille Lemonnier, Georges Eekhoud, Eugène Demolder, Georges Virres. Préface de Maurice Wilmotte*. Brussels, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 173-178.



Comparative Literature: Henri Davignon, *Une Amie belge de Louis Veuillot*, *Bulletin, Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature françaises*, (1932). *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 2, April-June, 1933, p. 159.

J. Bauwens, *La Tragédie française et le Théâtre hollandais au dix-septième Siècle. 1e partie: L'influence de Corneille*. Amsterdam, 1921. *Modern Philology*, XXII, No. 2, November, 1924, pp. 220-222.

#### 5. MISCELLANEOUS

Antwerpsche Mannen (Antwerp Figures).

De Heer Adolf Dumont, Provinciaal Raadslid.

De Heer Advokaat van Doosselaere, Voorzitter van het Weldadigheidsbureau.

De Heer Adolf Dumont, Provinciaal Raadslid.

De Heer Felix De Vroy, Voorzitter van "De Redders van Antwerpen".

De Heer Edw. Asselberghs, Eere-Voorzitter van den "Albert Grisar's Kring".

De Heer Charles Corty, Voorzitter der Handelskamer.

De Heer Karel Meerbergen, Provinciaal Raadslid. Eere-Voorzitter van den Turnkring "l'Anversoise".

De Heer Jan De Vos, Burgemeester.

De Heer Eug. Van de Walle, Senator.

De Sociale Verzekeringen. (Social Insurances).

*Het Ontwerp der Regeering en het Ontwerp Pecber*. Antwerp, 1912.

Waar ligt het Belang der

Mutualisten?

Waar ligt het Belang der

Werkende Klas?

Antwerp.

#### BELGIAN LITERATURE (ADDITIONS).

*Een Ongeluk (An Accident)*. Jong Antwerpen.

*Poems in Jong Antwerpen*.

Songs: *Drie Kinderen met drie Rozen*, in the *Winterboek der Wereldbibliotheek*, Amsterdam, 1922.

*A God Has Died*. *Foolscape*, Univ. of Minn., November, 1919.

*Doomsday*. *Ski-U-Mab*, Univ. of Minn., May, 1923.

#### REVIEW:

Walter Jequier, Paillason, Paris, 1928. *Romanic Review*, XX, No. 3, July-September, 1929, p. 265.

#### FRENCH LITERATURE.

*Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

##### IN BOOK FORM:

*The Cid Theme in France in 1600*. Pioneer Printers, Minneapolis, 1920.

*The Genesis of Corneille's "Mélite"*. Kruse Publishing Co., Vinton, Iowa.

*The Purpose of Corneille's "Cid"*. Pioneer Printers, Minneapolis, 1921.

*The Unpublished Poems of the Marquis de la Fare*. Librairie Ancienne Henri Champion, Paris, 1924.

*Saint-Evremond, La Comédie des Académistes* (Text of the MS. of 1638), Pub-

- lished with an Introduction. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1931.
- Boileau, Racine, Furetière, etc.: Chapelain Décoiffé: A Battle of Parodies.** Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1932.
- A Deistic Document of the Seventeenth Century: Boulainvilliers' "Lettre d'Hippocrate à Damagète" (1700).** Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1933.
- Hamlet in France in 1663: Montfleury's "Trasibule".** Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York. In preparation.
- Studies on Corneille.** Publications of the Institute of French Studies. In preparation.
- ARTICLES:**
- A. Commonplace in Corneille's "Mélite": The Madness of Eraste.** *Modern Philology*. Vol. XVII, No. 3, July, 1919, pp. 141-149.
- Notes on Pradon.** *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1920.
- Corneille's Early Friends and Surroundings.** *Modern Philology*, XVIII, No. 7, November, 1920.
- The Source of de Sallebray's "Amante Ennemie".** *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVI, No. 2, pp. 92-95.
- The Birthdate of Puget de la Serre.** *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1921.
- A Lost Play by Alexandre Hardy: "La Folle de Clidamant".** *Modern Language Notes*, Feb., 1922, pp. 121-123.
- Corneille's Relations with Louis Petit.** *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1922, pp. 307-309.
- Hamlet in France in 1663.** *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, June, 1922.
- Corneille's "Cinna" and the "Conspiration des Dames".** *Modern Philology*, XX, No. 1, Aug., 1922.
- Un Débat sur Marot au 18e Siècle.** *Revue du 16e Siècle*, Fascicules 3-4 (1922), issued April, 1923.
- Chapelain Décoiffé: A Battle of Parodies.** *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, XXXIX, No. 4, 1924, pp. 872-896.
- The Early Version of the "Comédie des Académistes".** *Modern Language Notes*, XL, No. 1, Jan., 1925, pp. 20-25.
- Unpublished Epigrams by J. B. Lully.** *Modern Language Notes*, Feb., 1925, pp. 121-122.
- The "Unpublished" Poems of Mlle. de Scudéry and Mlle. Descartes.** *Modern Language Notes*, XL, No. 3, March, 1925, pp. 155-158.
- Un Document inconnu sur la "Querelle du Cid".** *L'Anatomie du Cid. Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, XXXII, June, 1925, pp. 242-252.
- Notes on Corneille.** *Leuvensehe Bijdragen*, XVII (1925), No. 2.
1. The Dédicace of Corneille's *Théodore*.
  2. An Early Commentary on Corneille's "Cid".
- Poems Erroneously Attributed to Chapelain, Corneille, J. B. Rousseau, La Fontaine, etc.** *Neophilologus*, Nov., 1925.
- Corneille's Early Theories.** *Neophilologus*, 1926, pp. 166-172.
- Preciosity in Corneille's Early Plays.** *Philological Quarterly*, VI. No. 1, Dec., 1926, pp. 19-31.

- Unpublished Poems by Anne D'Urfé: Le Tombeau de Carite.* *Romanic Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1929.
- Neglected Strophes by Saint-Amant.* *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1925.
- REVIEWS:
- M. Duclaux, *Portrait of Pascal*, N. Y., 1927. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 3, July-Sept., 1928, pp. 262-263.
- A. Hallays, *Les Perrault*, Paris, 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1928, pp. 62-63.
- J. de la Bruyère, *The Characters*. . . Translated by Henri van Laun, N. Y., 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., p. 357.
- A. Boulanger, *L'Art Poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans (1555)*. Publié d'après l'Édition unique avec Introduction et Commentaire, Paris, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, p. 160.
- Sister M. J. Keeler, *Étude sur la Poésie et sur le Vocabulaire de Loys Papon Poète forezien du XVIe Siècle*. Washington, Catholic University of America, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 156-157.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## IN BOOK FORM:

- The Unpublished Poems of the Marquis de la Fare (1644-1712)*. Pub. Inst. Fr. Studies, New York, 1932; Librairie Ancienne Henri Champion, Paris, 1924.
- Saint-Evremond, *La Comédie des Académistes (1613-1703)* (Text of the MS. of 1638). Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1931.
- An Unknown Deistic Document: Boulainvilliers' Lettre d'Hippocrate à Damagete (1700)*.
- Policinelle, Comte de Psonfier (Parodie inédite du "Glorieux" de Destouches (1732))*. (with A. Constans). Edouard Champion, Editeur, Paris, 1924.
- Alzirette: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's "Alzire"*. Inst. of Fr. Studies, New York, 1929; also P. M. L. A., Vol. XLI, No. 4, 1926.
- L'Empirique: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's "Mahomet"*. Inst. of Fr. Studies, New York, 1929.
- Bibliography of Pierre Bayle (with J. L. Gerig)*. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York. In preparation.
- Persian Letters Before Montesquieu*. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1932; also *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XX, No. 4, 1925.
- A Parody Against J.-J. Rousseau: "Le Sauvage Hors de Condition"*. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York. In preparation.
- Unpublished Poems by Voltaire, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, Anne d'Urfé, Helvétius, Gresset, etc.* Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1933.
- An Unknown Work of Voltaire: "Pensées et Fragments"*. In preparation.
- The Lost Parts of Hamilton's Novel "Zenéjde" Rediscovered*. In preparation.
- Dramatic Parody in France from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century: a Critical List*. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, In preparation.

## ARTICLES:

- An Impromptu of Voltaire Completed.* *Modern Language Notes*, Jan., 1922, p. 58.
- A Prologue for Voltaire's "Artémire".* *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1922, pp. 137-141.
- Verses Attributed to Voltaire.* *Modern Language Notes*, Nov., 1922.
- Neglected Verse by the Abbé de Chaulieu.* *Modern Language Notes*, XLI, 2, 1926.
- Unpublished Poems by Beaumarchais and His Sister.* *P. M. L. A.*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, 1923, pp. 412-418.
- Une Parodie inédite du "Mabomet" de Voltaire: "L'Empirique" de Ch. S. Favart.* *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, 1923.
- Een Onbekende Brief van Voltaire over Jean-Jacques Rousseau.* *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XVIII, 1923, pp. 67-71.
- An Unknown Letter of Voltaire About Rousseau.* *M. L. N.*, April, 1923.
- The Early Editions of Gomberville's "Polexandre".* (with A. Constans). *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1923, pp. 302-308.
- An Early Version of Voltaire's "Épître sur la Calomnie".* *Neophilologus*, July, 1923, pp. 252-256.
- A Quarrel of Poets: Voltaire, Moncrif, and Roy.* *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 3, July, 1923, pp. 209-223.
- Notes on Voltaire.* *M. L. N.*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, Jan., 1924, pp. 1-10.
1. The date of a letter by Voltaire.
  2. Voltaire or the Abbé Alary?
  3. On two sources of *Zadig*.
  4. Variants of Voltaire's *Stances sur les Poètes Épiques*.
  5. Additions and corrections to Voltaire's Bibliography.
- Uncollected Poems by Fontenelle.* *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, April, 1924, pp. 249-250.
- Unpublished Poems by Gresset.* *Modern Philology*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Aug., 1924, pp. 45-62.
- Diderot's Earliest Publication.* *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 8, Dec., 1924, pp. 504-505.
- The Source of Piron's "Clapperman".* *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Vol. XXVI, No. 8, 1925, pp. 233-238.
- Persian Letters Before Montesquieu.* *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XX, No. 4, 1925, pp. 432-443.
- Alzirette: An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's "Alzire".* *Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, 1926, pp. 955-970.
- Voltaire as a Vaudevilliste.* *Romanic Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1926, pp. 355-358.
- Additions and Corrections to Voltaire's Bibliography.* *M. L. N.*, May, 1929, pp. 328-330.
- Who Wrote the "Épitaphe de Cromwell"?* *M. L. N.*, XLIV, Nov., 1929, pp. 450-451.
- Who Originated the Plan of the Encyclopédie?* *Modern Philology*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Feb., 1930.

- Roy's Portrait of Moncrif*. *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 273-274.
- Two Unknown Deistic Poems of Voltaire*. *Todd Memorial Volumes*, New York, 1930-1931.
- Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Play*. *Romanic Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, pp. 38-40.
- The Original Version of Voltaire's "Temple du Goût"*. *Romanic Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, 1934.
- Additional Persian Letters Before Montesquieu*. *Romanic Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1932, pp. 243-248.
- A Neglected Source of "Zadig"*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 6-8, 1932.
- Baculard d'Arnaud and His Usurer*. *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1933, pp. 310-312.
- Un Débat sur Marot au 18e Siècle*. *Revue du 16e Siècle*, (1923, date of issue; fascicules 3-4, 1922).
- An Unpublished Letter of Voltaire about the Acquisition of "Les Delices"*. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Vol. XXXVI, 1935.
- An Unpublished Letter of Mme de Pompadour to Voltaire*. *Neophilologus* (Holland), 1935, pp. 90-91.

## UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

(with J. L. Gerig)

- I. *Two Letters to His Mother*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 3, July-September, 1931, pp. 210-217.
- II. *Bayle Persecuted: An Unpublished Letter about Jurieu*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1932, pp. 20-23.
- III. *A Letter of Bayle to Bishop G. Burnet (1690)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 117-120.
- IV. *On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 121-124.
- V. *Bayle Reaffirms His Theories on Atheism and the "Erring Conscience" (1694)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 124-128.
- VI. *Bayle Rectifies the Menagiana on his Conversion (1693-1694)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1932, pp. 206-214.
- VII. *A Letter to His Brother, Jacob (1670)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1932, pp. 214-224.
- VIII. *On the Article "Akakia" in the Dictionnaire: Bayle's Collaborators*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1932, pp. 312-320.
- IX. *Literary News Letters to Pinsson de Riollès (1694 and 1705)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1933, pp. 17-20.
- X. *Bayle and Perrault: The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 3, July-Sept., 1933, pp. 210-222.
- Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle to His Mother (1671, 1672)*. *Leuvense Bijdragen*, (Belgium), XXIV, 1932, pp. 47-50.
- XI. *On the Death of Gilles Ménage: Bayle's Eulogy*. *Romanic Review*, 1933, pp. 303-305.
- XII. *Letters of Erudition to Pinsson de Riollès (1695-1696)*. *Romanic Review*, 1933, pp. 305-314.

- XIII. *A Literary News Letter to Pinsson de Riolles* (1694). *Romanic Review*, 1934, pp. 15-19.  
 XIV. *A Letter to P. Hallé* (1688?). *Romanic Review*, 1934, pp. 19-20.  
 XV. *Literary News Letters to Pinsson de Riolles* (1705). *Romanic Review*, 1934, pp. 20-24.  
 XVI. *Bayle in Paris* (1675): *Unpublished Letters to His Family*. *Romanic Review*, 1934, pp. 341-360.

\* \* \*

Charles-Joseph de Ligne, *Prince of Cosmopolitan Europe* (1735-1814). *Annales Prince de Ligne*, Vols. I-XVI. *Romanic Review*, Jan.-Mar., 1936, pp. 53-59.

#### REVIEWS:

- M. Dodds, *Les Récits de Voyages, Sources de l'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu*, Paris, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 3, July-Sept., 1930, pp. 259-260.  
 Lesage, *Notes upon a Unique Collection of His Editions Originales*. London, (1926?). *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1928, pp. 65-66.  
 H. C. Martin, *Fénelon en Hollande*. Amsterdam, 1928. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 172-173.  
 Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*, texte établi et présenté par Elie Carcassonne. Editions Fernand Roches, Paris, 1929. *Romanic Review*, Oct.-Dec., 1930, XXI, No. 4, pp. 341-343.  
 Bernard Fay, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux Etats-Unis à la Fin du 18e Siècle*, Paris, 1925. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 158-160.  
 Th. E. Oliver, *The Mérope of George Jeffreys as a Source of Voltaire's Mérope*. University of Illinois, 1928. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 3, July-Sept., 1930, pp. 257-259.  
 Ch. du Peloux, *Répertoire général des Ouvrages modernes relatifs au 18e Siècle français (1715-1789)*. Paris, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 3, July-Sept., 1928, pp. 263-265.  
 I. O. Wade, *The "Philosophie" in the French Drama of the Eighteenth century*. Princeton, N. J., 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 2, April-June, 1928, pp. 163-165.  
 Voltaire, *Contes et Romans*. Texte établi et présenté par Philippe Van Tieghem, Paris, Editions Fernand Roches, 1930. 4 vols. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 159-160.  
 Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire and the Enlightenment*. New York, F. S. Crofts Co., 1931. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1931, p. 255.  
 Voltaire, *Zadig ou la Destinée, histoire orientale*. Par G. Ascoli. Edition critique avec une Introduction et un Commentaire. Paris, Société des Textes Modernes, 1929, 2 vols. *Modern Philology*, XXIX, No. 1, August, 1931, pp. 125-127.  
 Georg Brandes, *Voltaire*. Translated by Otto Kruger and Pierce Butler, New York, Albert and Charles Boni, 1930, 2 vols. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1931, pp. 334-336.  
 André Brule, *La Vie au dix-huitième Siècle: Les Gens de Lettres*. Paris, Editions Marcel Seheur, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 4, October-December, 1931, pp. 340-341.



- G. Ascoli, *Voltaire: Zadig ou la Destinée, histoire orientale*. Edition critique avec une Introduction et un Commentaire. Paris, 1929, 2 vols. *Modern Philology*, XXIX, No. 1, August, 1931, pp. 125-127.
- C. B. Chase, *The Young Voltaire*. N. Y., 1926. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, No. 2, April-June, 1927, pp. 160-163.
- The Library of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (M. Reich, *Essai sur les lectures de Rousseau*. Philadelphia, 1932). *Romanic Review*, 1935. (Jan.-March, issue).

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS:

- Charles Baudelaire (a bibliography). H. P. Tjeenk Willinck, Haarlem, Holland. *An Anthology of Modern French Poetry*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927.
- The Legend of the Decadents*. Institut des Etudes Françaises, New York, 1927.
- Un Olvidado Precursor del Modernismo Frances: Della Rocca de Vergalo*. (with R. A. Soto). Institut des Etudes Françaises, New York, 1928.

## ARTICLES:

- Jehan Rictus. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, IV, 1908, pp. 239-240.
- Over de Psychologie van Jules Laforgue. *De Nieuwe Gids*, September, 1911, pp. 318-334.
- Over de Psychologie van Albert Samain, (A. de Ridder). *Groot-Nederland*, August, 1912.
- A Study on Dilettantism in *De Nieuwe Gids*.
- Over Dilettanteism. *Groot-Nederland*, 1912.
- Over de Psychologie van Charles Guérin. *Groot-Nederland*, August, 1913.
- Francis Jammes, Primitive. *The Sewanee Review*, No. 2, 1920. (with J. W. Beach).
- A French Love Poet of the 'Nineties'. (with J. W. Beach). *North American Review*, August, 1921.
- "Sylvestre Bonnard" and the Fairy. *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1922, pp. 248-250.
- Een Vergeten Voorloper van het Modernisme: Della Rocca de Vergalo. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XIX, May, 1924.
- Résumé of Decadence, (a lecture delivered at the Andiron Club), appeared in *Summons of the Andiron Club*, December, 1924.
- Decadence and Rimbaud's Sonnet of the Vowels. *Romanic Review*, XVI, No. 2, April-June, 1925, pp. 122-135.
- Rimbaud's Sonnet van de Kleuren der Klinkers. *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XX, Feb., 1925.
- Are the Modern Poets Decadent? *Romanic Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1926, pp. 243-256.
- The Tragic Story of Adoré Floupette, or How One Becomes a Decadent. *Romanic Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1927, pp. 37-51.
- Huysmans the Sphinx: The Riddle of "A Rebours". *Romanic Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Oct-Dec., 1927, pp. 306-328.
- Zijn de moderne Dichters decadent?. *De Vlaamsche Gids*, March, 1928, Vol. XVI, No. 6, pp. 241-255.

*The Source of Baudelaire's Prose-Poem, "L'Horloge".* *Romanic Review*, Vol. XX, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1929, pp. 356-359.

## REVIEWS:

- J. de la Luz Leon, *Amiel o la Incapacidad de Amar* (Prologo de Salvador de Madariaga), Madrid, 1927. *Books Abroad*, II, No. 1, Jan., 1928, pp. 44-45.
- Francis Jammes, *Lavigerie*, Paris, 1927. *Books Abroad*, II, No. 2, April, 1928, p. 18.
- Jacques de Lacretelle, *Histoire de Paola Ferrani*, Paris, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 169-170.
- Jules Laforgue, *Six Moral Tales*, Edited and Translated by F. Newman, N. Y., (1929). *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 166-169.
- André Maurois, *Meïpe ou la Délivrance*. Paris, 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1928, pp. 63-65.
- J. de la Luz Leon, *Amiel o la Incapacidad de Amar* . . . Madrid, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 3, July-Sept., 1928, pp. 265-267.
- H. F. Amiel, *Philino. From the Unpublished Journals of* . . . Translated by Van Wyck Brooks. With an introduction by Edmond Jaloux, N. Y., 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., pp. 357-358.
- Jacques Lomard, *Cocktails après Minuit*. Paris, Lemerre, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1930, pp. 356-357.
- Raymond Radiguet, *The Count's Ball*, translated by Malcolm Cowley, N. Y. (1929). *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1930, p. 357.
- André Gide, *The School for Wives*, translated by Dorothy Bussy, Knopf, New York, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1930, pp. 77-78.
- W. F. Giese, *Victor Hugo: the Man and the Poet*, N. Y., 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1928, pp. 58-62.
- H. Girard and H. Moncel, *Pour et contre le Romantisme: Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1914 à 1926*, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 2, April-June, 1928, pp. 167-168.
- J. G. Palache, *Gautier and the Romantics*, N. Y., 1926. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1927, pp. 258-260.
- L. de Robert, *De Loti à Proust. Souvenirs et Confidences*, Paris, (1928). *Romanic Review*, XX, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1929, pp. 365-366.
- F. A. Roe, *La France laborieuse*, London, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 2, April-June, 1928, p. 186.
- Edmond Rostand, *The Last Night of Don Juan* . . . Translated by T. L. Riggs, Introduction by W. L. Phelps, Ohio, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, p. 172.
- E. Seillière, *Romanticism*, Preface and Translation by C. Sprietsma, N. Y., 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 163-166.
- C. Sprietsma, *Louis Bertrand (1807-1841) dit Aloysius Bertrand. Etude biographique d'après des documents inédits*. Paris, 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1928, pp. 56-58.
- Memoirs of Léon Daudet*, Ed. and Translated by A. K. Griggs, N. Y., 1926. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 2, April-June, 1928, pp. 165-167.
- J. Dorsenne, *Les Filles de Volupté*, Paris, 1929. *Romanic Review*, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 171-172.

- French Book Notes: Francis Jammes, *Leçons poétiques*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1931, pp. 344-345.
- Maurice Barrès, *The Sacred Hill*, translated by Malcolm Cowley, New York, Macaulay Company, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 159-161.
- Marcel Brion, *Alaric the Goth*. Translated by F. H. Martens, N. Y., McBride and Co., 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, p. 74.
- Alexandre Dumas, *On Board the Emma. Adventures with Garibaldi's "Thousand" in Sicily*. Translated by R. S. Garnett, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, pp. 73-76.
- A. Baillot, *Influence de la Philosophie de Schopenhauer en France (1860-1900). Etude suivie d'un Essai sur les Sources françaises de Schopenhauer*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 3, July-September, 1931, pp. 234-237.
- Francis de Miomandre, *Vie du Sage Prospéro*, Paris, Plon, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 3, July-Sept., 1931, pp. 250-251.
- R. L. Hawkins, *Madame de Staël and the United States*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 154-156.
- André Salmon, *The Black Venus (La Nègresse du Sacré-Cœur)*. Translated by Slater Brown, New York, Macaulay Co., 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 157-159.
- J. C. Versluys, *Essai sur le Caractère de Lamennais*, Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 4, October-December, 1931, pp. 341-345.
- Jules Levy, *Les Hydropathes, Prose et Vers . . .* Paris, 1928. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 159-161.
- Comparative Literature: H. Peyre, *Bibliographie critique de l'Hellenisme en France de 1843 à 1870*, New Haven, 1932. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 2, April-June, 1933, pp. 157-159.
- Chateaubriand, *Atala et René*. Texte établi et présenté par Gilbert Chinard. Paris, Ed. Fernand Roches, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 1, January-March, 1932, pp. 63-65.
- Michel Georges-Michel, *Left Bank . . .* Translated by Keene Wallis from the French Novel *Les Montparnos . . .*, N. Y., (1931). *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 156-159.
- H. de Balzac, *Eugénie Grandet*, avec une introduction et des notes par Maurice Allem, Paris, 1929. *Books Abroad*, Jan., 1931, p. 65.
- Philippe Lamour, Joe Bousquet, Carlo Suares. *Voie Libre*. Paris, 1930. *Books Abroad*, VII, No. 2, April, 1933, pp. 168-169.
- Henri Barbusse, *Ce qui fut, sera*. Paris, 1931. *Books Abroad*, VII, No. 2, April, 1933, p. 192.
- Louis Bertrand, dit Aloysius Bertrand, *Oeuvres poétiques. La Volupté et Pièces diverses*, publiées . . . par C. Sprietsma. *Romanic Review*, XIX, No. 1, January-March, 1928, pp. 56-58.

## ENGLISH LITERATURE

## ARTICLES:

- De Opstand tegen het Stadje in de Amenkaansche Literatuur. Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XVII, 1922, pp. 413-420.
- Een Nieuwe Oplossing van het Hamlet-Problem. Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XVII, 1922, pp. 459-465.
- "Under the Sonne be Loketh". *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1923.
- A New Theory of Hamlet. Foolscape*, Univ. of Minn., March, 1920.
- De Nieuwe Richting in de Amenkaansche Poëzie. Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XIV-XV, 1919-1920, pp. 206-209.
- Een Utopist Tusschen de Indianen in 1736: Christian Priber. Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XIX, Dec., 1924.

## PAMPHLET:

*The Reincarnation of H. L. Mencken*, Baltimore, 1925.

## REVIEWS:

- Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance . . . With an Introduction by Ashley H. Thorndike*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 148-149.
- James Huneker, *Essays . . . Selected with an Introduction by H. L. Mencken*, New York, Scribner's and Sons, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, January-March, 1931, pp. 62-64.

## OTHER LITERATURES

- Translation of a Sonnet from W. Kloos. Foolscape*, University of Minnesota, November, 1919.
- A Sonnet from Verwey and a Sonnet from Van Eeden (Translation). Foolscape*, December, 1919.
- Over de Jong-Weensche Dichters* (with A. de Ridder) (with translations into Flemish from modern Austrian poetry). *De Boomgaard*, Vol. I, 1909-1910, also Boekhandel "Flandria", Antwerp, 1910.
- De Jong-Weensche Dichters* (The Poets of Young Vienna), Antwerp, 1910. (Also printed in *De Boomgaard*, 1909-1910).

## REVIEWS:

- N. N. Condeescu, *Istoria lui Alftidalis și a Zelidiei, Unul din primele Romane Franceze in Limba Noastra*, Bucharest, 1931. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 2, April-June, 1933, p. 159.
- Alexandre Rally et Getta Helene Rally, *Bibliographie franco-roumaine. Préface de M. Mario Roques*. Paris, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, No. 2, April-June, 1933, pp. 160-161.

## MISCELLANEOUS

## ARTICLES:

- The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. Vlaamsche Gids*, 1913.
- Over Friedrich Nietzsche. De Vlaamsche Gids*, Vol. VII, 1911, pp. 261-275.
- A Few Platitudes on Cleverness. Foolscape*, University of Minnesota, Vol. I, No. 8, June, 1920.

Preface to M. I. Baym, *Symbols and I. A Book of Poems and Sonnets*, N. Y., 1928.

Obituary, Raymond Foulché-Delbosc (1864-1929). *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1930, pp. 91-92.

Art: Articles on history of art in *Le Matin*, *La Presse*, *La Métropole*.

REVIEWS:

Ch. Guignebert, *A Short History of the French People*. Translated by F. G. Richmond, New York, Macmillan Co., 2 vols. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1931, p. 73.

Noël Dupire, *Bibliographie des Travaux d'Ernest Langlois*, Paris, E. Droz, 1929. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, January-March, 1931, pp. 73-74.

F. Boillot, *Le vrai Ami du Traducteur anglais-français et français-anglais*, Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 4, October-December, 1931, p. 345.

Acton Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, etc. See *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1930.

*Morale Sclorum of John of Garland* (Johannes de Garlandia), Edited by L. J. Paetow, University of California Press, 1927. *Romanic Review*, XX, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1929, pp. 54-55.

Jane Beardwood, *Rhymes of Latin and French Words in Old French*, Philadelphia, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 1, January-March, 1931, p. 75.

O. H. Prior, *Morceaux choisis des Penseurs français du XVIe au XIXe Siècle*. Préface de M. Léon Braunschwig, Paris, Alcan, 1930. *Romanic Review*, XXII, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 172-173.

Montague Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, Dutton Co., New York, 1929, 330 pp. *Romanic Review*, XXI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1930.

Anna Heyberger, *Jean Amos Comenius (Komensky). Sa Vie et son Oeuvre d'Éducateur*, Paris, 1928. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, No. 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 144-147.

### IN MEMORIAM: BARBARA MATULKA

Dr. Barbara Matulka, one of the most promising and brilliant of the younger Spanish scholars in the United States, passed away on July 5, 1936.

Miss Matulka was born in Czechoslovakia, one of five daughters of Jan and Marie (Kavan) Matulka. While yet a child, her parents emigrated to New York. After having completed her preparatory work in the high schools of New York, Miss Matulka entered Barnard College where she left a memorable record, making the mark of A in practically all of her courses. Awarded the A.B. degree, with Phi Beta Kappa honors, by Barnard College in 1925, she was registered at once in the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University as a graduate student in Romance Languages and Literatures, and, at the end of the same academic year, was granted the A.M. degree as the outstanding student of her class.

During the years immediately following, Miss Matulka's astonishing intellectual activity began to manifest itself, for, although engaged in teaching, she yet found the time to publish several highly interesting scholarly contributions as well as to follow courses leading to the Ph.D. degree in both Columbia University and New York University. While she was pursuing her graduate work, the writer of these lines had the honor of counting her among his pupils as well as of directing her studies — in cooperation with his colleagues, Professor Federico de Onís of the Spanish Department and the late Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck — in the comparative Spanish-French field of feminism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which she was destined to distinguish herself, and was deeply impressed by her gifted intellect, her fine gentility and unobtrusive modesty, and, especially, by the noble traits of her character.

In 1931 Columbia University conferred upon her the Ph.D. degree on her dissertation, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion: A Study in Comparative Literature*. As she was teaching in New York University at that time, the authorities of the latter institution bestowed upon her the unexpected honor of listing her work among its centennial publications. That her contribution was likewise highly appreciated abroad may be seen in the eulogistic reviews it received at the hands of Professors William J. Entwistle of Oxford University, E. Martineche of the University of Paris, and other famous scholars.

After her promotion to an Assistant Professorship of Spanish in the Washington Square College of New York University, Miss Matulka created, in collaboration with Professor Joseph W. Barlow, head of the Department of Spanish, *The Spanish Review*, which, under her able editorship, was recognized at once as one of the leading publications of its kind in America, enrolling among its contributors many of our distinguished Spanish scholars.



Miss Matulka was a member of the Modern Language Association of America, of which she was Secretary of the Spanish Section in 1934; of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, Belgian Institute in the United States, etc. Her complete bibliography follows.

She is survived by her mother, three sisters, Mrs. Marie Matulka Hooper, Miss Caroline and Miss Theresa Matulka, and by a brother, Jan, a prominent artist.

The study of Spanish lost, in the death of this remarkable young woman, a most inspiring and indefatigable scholar and teacher — one whose beautiful character endeared her to all who had the honor of knowing her. She will never be forgotten by her colleagues, friends and students.

J. L. G.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BARBARA MATULKA

##### PUBLICATIONS:

- The Cid as a Courtly Hero: From the Amadís to Corneille.* 54 pages. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1928.
- Georges de Scudéry, *Le Prince Déguisé*. Republished with an Introduction. 102 pages. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1929.
- The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion. A Study in Comparative Literature.* xvii + 475 pages. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1931.
- An Anti-Feminist Treatise of Fifteenth Century Spain: Luis de Lucena's Repetición de Amores.* 24 pages. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1931.
- The Feminist Theme in the Drama of the Siglo de Oro.* 41 pages. New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., 1935.

##### ARTICLES:

- Voltaire and the Queen of Prussia: A Letter Recovered.* *Modern Language Notes*, XLII, 6, June, 1927, 394-395.
- Letters of Mallarmé and Maeterlinck to Richard Hovey.* *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 3, July-September, 1927, 232-237.
- On the European Diffusion of the Last of the Abencerrajes Story in the Sixteenth Century.* *Hispania*, XVI, 4, November-December, 1933, 369-388.
- The Main Source of Scudéry's Le Prince déguisé: The Primaleón.* *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 1-14.
- The Courtly Cid Theme in the Primaleón.* *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 298-313.
- The Courtly Cid Theme in Calderón's Afectos de odio y amor.* *Hispania*, XVIII, 1, February, 1935, 63-76.
- On the Beltenebros Episode in the Amadís.* *Hispanic Review*, III, 4, October, 1935, 338-340.
- The Tercentenary of Lope de Vega (1562-1635): His International Diffusion.* *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 93-103.
- The Courtly Cid Theme and Giraldo Cintio.* *Revue de Littérature comparée*, January-March, 1936, 121-140.

*Recent Lope de Vega Studies.* *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 42-46.

REVIEWS:

- Selections from Marcel Proust.* Edited by De V. Payen-Paine. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 362.
- F. Anderson, *Illustrations of Early French Literature, 1100-1600.* *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 362-363.
- Emile Guillaumin, *La Vie d'un Simple (Mémoires d'un Métayer).* Edited by Louis Cons. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 363.
- G. Matisse, *Paris, Centre de Culture Intellectuelle.* Edited . . . by L. Cardon. *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 363-364.
- L. J. A. Mercier, *Junior French.* *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 364.
- M. Romero de Terreros, *Nociones de Literatura Castellana.* *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 364-365.
- L. A. Wilkins and H. Alpern, *Exercise Book in Spanish.* *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 4, October-December, 1927, 365.
- Nicolas Urios Andreu, *La Bandera Argentina.* *Poesías. Books Abroad*, I, 4, October, 1927, 72.
- Rafael Alberti, *Marinero en Tierra.* *Poesías. Books Abroad*, I, 4, October, 1927, 72-73.
- Ernest Seillière, *Pour le Centenaire du Romantisme. Un Examen de Conscience.* *Books Abroad*, II, 1, January, 1928, 26-27.
- N. B. Adams and Gretchen Todd Starck, *El Abencerraje según Antonio de Villegas.* *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 70-71.
- Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *El Delincuente Honrado, Comedia.* Edited . . . by H. C. Berkowitz and S. A. Wofsy. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 71.
- N. Andrew N. Clevén, *Readings in Hispanic American History.* *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 71-72.
- Hugo Wast, *La Casa de los Cuervos.* Edited . . . by E. Herman Hespelt. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 72.
- Eugène Brieux, *La Française, comédie en trois actes.* Edited by Simone de la Souchère Delery and Gladys A. Renshaw. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 73.
- J. Badaire, *Précis de Littérature française avec morceaux choisis, analyse littéraire, et glossaire.* *Romanic Review*, XIX, 1, January-March, 1928, 73.
- J. M. Polar, *Don Quijote en Yanquilandia.* *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, I, 1, January-March, 1928, 75-76.
- Maurice Betz, *Petite Stèle pour Rainer Maria Rilke. Suivi de Quinze Sonnets à Orphée.* *Books Abroad*, II, 2, April, 1928, 25.
- J. Salas Subirat, *A Cien Años de Beethoven (1827-Marzo-1927).* *Books Abroad*, II, 2, April, 1928, 35-36.
- H. A. Deferrari, *The Sentimental Moor in Spanish Literature before 1600.* *Romanic Review*, XIX, 2, April-June, 1928, 158-161.
- Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, *La Reja, Comedia en un Acto.* Authorized Edition, Edited . . . by Caroline B. Bourland. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 2, April-June, 1928, 183-184.

- Jules Romains, *Knock ou le Triomphe de la Médecine*. Edited . . by A. D. Menut and D. I. Chapman. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 2, April-June, 1928, 184-185.
- A. Marinoni, *España*. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 2, April-June, 1928, 185.
- Florencio Sánchez, *La Gringa, Drama en Cuatro Actos*. Edited . . by J. T. Lister and R. Richardson. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 2, April-June, 1928, 185-186.
- Victoria Ocampo, *La Laguna de los Nenúfares. Fábula escénica en doce cuadros*. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, I, 2, April-June, 1928, 187-189.
- Hamburgische Werkkunst der Gegenwart. *Books Abroad*, II, 3, July, 1928, 70-71.
- Julio Camba, *La Rana Viajera, Artículos Humorísticos*. Edited . . by Federico de Onís. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 3, July-September, 1928, 275-276.
- G. Martínez Sierra, *Sol de la Tarde*. Edited . . by C. D. Cool, With a Critical Introduction by F. de Onís. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 3, July-September, 1928, 277.
- C. Matienzo and L. B. Crandon, *Leyendas de la Alhambra*. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 3, July-September, 1928, 277-278.
- Népomucène Lemercier, *Christophe Colomb, Comédie Historique en Trois Actes et en Vers*. Edited . . by Charles Grimm. *Romanic Review*, XIX, 3, July-September, 1928, 278.
- Henry de Montherlant, *La Mort de Peregrinos*. *Books Abroad*, III, 1, January, 1929, 37.
- Epistolario de Goya*. Paréntesis por Guillermo Díaz Plaja. 1828-1928. *Books Abroad*, III, 1, January, 1929, 40.
- Azorín, *Old Spain*. Edited . . by G. B. Fundenburg. *Romanic Review*, XX, 1, January-March, 1929, 78-79.
- Walter Jéquier, *Paillason, Roman conjugal*. *Books Abroad*, III, 3, July, 1929, 251.
- E. Schlieben, *Mutterschaft und Gesellschaft, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mutter- und Säuglingsschutzes*. *Books Abroad*, III, 3, July, 1929, 291-292.
- D. Rubio and H. C. Néel, *Spanish Anthology*. *Romanic Review*, XX, 3, July-September, 1929, 266-267.
- Concha Meléndez, *Amado Nervo*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 1, January-March, 1930, 66-68.
- W. S. Robertson, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda. Tour of the United States. 1783-84*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 1, January-March, 1930, 68-69.
- J. García Mercadal, *En Zigzag (Por Tierras Vascas de España y Francia)*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 1, January-March, 1930, 69.
- M. Romera-Navarro, *Historia de la Literatura Española*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 2, April-June, 1930, 177-179.
- T. B. Rudmose-Brown, *A Book of French Verse. From Hugo to Larbaud*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 2, April-June, 1930, 179.
- Joseph W. Barlow, *Fundamentals of Spanish*. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 2, April-June, 1930, 179-180.
- Ruiz de Alarcón, *La verdad sospechosa*. Edited . . by A. L. Owen. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 3, July-September, 1930, 273-274.

- Francisco de Rojas, *Del rey abajo, ninguno*. Edited . . . by Nils Flaten. *Romanic Review*, XXI, 3, July-September, 1930, 274-275.
- Miguel Ramos Carrión y Vital Aza, *La Careta Verde y El Señor Gobernador*. Edited . . . by J. Warshaw and E. Vaughan; Vital Aza, *Tres Piezas Cómicas* [*Parada y Fonda, La Praviana, La Almoneda del 3.º*]. Edited . . . by S. Griswold Morley and R. K. Spaulding; *Two Spanish Plays* [Ramos Carrión, *El Chaleco Blanco*, and Vital Aza, *El Sueño Dorado*]. Edited . . . by J. Cano and E. Goggio. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 1, January-March, 1931, 78-79.
- Gregorio Martínez Sierra, *Three One-Act Plays: La Suerte de Isabelita: Rosina es Frágil; Cada Uno y su Vida*. Edited . . . by L. A. Wilkins and M. E. Nash. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 2, April-June, 1931, 170-171.
- A. Shapiro and F. J. Hurley, *Cosas de España y de la América Española*; C. E. Kany, *Fiestas y Costumbres Españolas*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 2, April-June, 1931, 171-172.
- Arturo Farinelli, *Italia e Spagna*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 3, July-September, 1931, 239-240.
- Salomay Lauderdale Harrison, *México Simpatico, Tierra de Encantos*; Stuart E. Grummon and Alfredo de Noriega, Jr., *Tres Meses en México, A Spanish Conversational Reader*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 3, July-September, 1931, 261-262.
- Spanish Fables*. Edited by D. Rubio and H. C. Néel. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 3, July-September, 1931, 262-263.
- Manuel Tamayo y Baus, *Una Apuesta and Huyendo del Perejil*. Edited . . . by Cony Sturgis and J. C. Robinson. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 3, July-September, 1931, 263.
- Ramón del Valle-Inclán, *Jardín Umbrío*. Edited by Paul Patrick Rogers. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 4, October-December, 1931, 351-352.
- Chilean Short Stories*. Edited . . . by A. Torres Riosco and Margaret K. Kress. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 4, October-December, 1931, 352-353.
- Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El Cautivo*. Edited . . . by M. A. De Vitis and D. Torreyson. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 4, October-December, 1931, 354.
- Nicolás González Ruiz and E. Allison Peers, *Horas en el Prado con Velázquez*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 4, October-December, 1931, 354-355.
- J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *Un Viaje por España. Intermediate Spanish Composition and Grammar Review*. *Romanic Review*, XXII, 4, October-December, 1931, 355.
- A. Palacio Valdés, *José*. Edited . . . by J. W. Barlow. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 178-180.
- Five One-Act Spanish Plays—Authorized Edition*. [*Rosina es Frágil* by G. Martínez Sierra; *Encanto de una Hora* by J. Benavente; *Sin Palabras* by S. and J. Álvarez Quintero; *Cada Uno a lo Suyo* by M. Linares Rivas; *La Virgen del Mar* by Santiago Rusiñol, translated by G. Martínez Sierra]. Edited . . . by A. M. Brady and M. S. Husson. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 180-181.
- Spanish Folktales*. Edited . . . by R. S. Boggs and N. B. Adams. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 181.
- Alain René Lesage, traducido al castellano por el Padre Isla, *Aventuras de Gil*

- Blas de Santillana*. Edited . . . by J. Cano and E. Goggio. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 181-183.
- J. L. Borgerhoff, *Nineteenth Century French Plays*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 183.
- P. O. Crowhurst, *Cassell's Dictionary of French Synonyms arranged in Groups*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, 183.
- A. Bonnardot, *The Mirror of the Parisian Bibliophile*. . . Translated and Edited by Theodore Wesley Koch. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 259-260.
- Spanish America in Song and Story. Selections Representing Hispano-American Letters from the Conquest to the Present Day*. Arranged and Annotated by Henry A. Holmes. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 273-275.
- Mariano José de Larra, *Selected Essays*. Edited by C. B. Bourland. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 275-276.
- Artículos de Larra, De Costumbres, Política y Crítica Literaria*. Edited . . . by J. H. Nunemaker. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 275-276.
- Spanish Wit and Humor*. Edited by D. Rubio and H. C. Néel. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 276-277.
- Nicolás González Ruiz and E. Allison Peers, *Six Tales from Calderón*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 3, July-September, 1932, 277-278.
- Popular Spanish Readings. El Libro Talonario, Golpe Doble, Zaragüeta, El Capitán Veneno, La Hermana San Sulpicio*. Edited . . . by N. B. Adams with the collaboration of A. B. Adams. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 4, October-December, 1932, 366.
- Mexican Short Stories*. Edited . . . by A. Torres-Rioseco and E. R. Sims. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 4, October-December, 1932, 366-367.
- M. W. Nichols and G. Rivera, *Cuentos y Leyendas de España*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 4, October-December, 1932, 367-368.
- Easy Modern Spanish Lyrics*. Selected and Edited by M. A. Devitis and D. Torreyson. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 4, October-December, 1932, 368-369.
- William L. Schwartz, *French Romantic Poetry. An Anthology*. *Romanic Review*, XXIII, 4, October-December, 1932, 369-370.
- Romain Rolland, *Un Voyage de Jean-Christophe. Episode tiré de "Jean-Christophe"*. Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by Frédéric Ernst and H. Stanley Schwarz. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 73-74.
- Aucassin et Nicolette and Four "Lais" of Marie de France*. Edited by . . . Edwin B. Williams. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 74.
- Juan León Mera, *Cumandá*. Notes and Vocabulary by Pastoriza Flores. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 74-75.
- Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *La Comedia Nueva and El Si de las Niñas*. Edited . . . by G. W. Umphrey and W. E. Wilson. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 75-76.
- Cervantes. Selections from his Works*, by Rudolph Schevill. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 76.

- El Libro de Buen Humor* por L. B. Simpson y A. Torres-Rioseco. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 1, January-March, 1933, 76-77.
- S. Rocheblave, *Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Graveur et Dessinateur*. *Books Abroad*, VII, 2, April, 1933, 183-184.
- G. Bono, *Lettres inédites de Suard à Wilkes*. *Books Abroad*, VII, 2, April, 1933, 177.
- Eugenio Noel, *El picador Veneno y otras novelas*. *Books Abroad*, VII, 2, April, 1933, 223-224.
- Frauenbriefe aus der Italienischen Renaissance*. Gesammelt und übertragen von Curt Sigmar Gutkind. *Books Abroad*, VII, 2, April, 1933, 203.
- Recent Spanish Bibliographical Surveys*: J. Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des Impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, avec une Préface de Maurice Sabbe, Conservateur du Musée Plantin à Anvers; J. D. M. Ford and R. Lansing, *Cervantes. A Tentative Bibliography of His Works and of the Biographical and Critical Material Concerning Him*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 2, April-June, 1933, 170-178.
- Manuel Iribarren, *Retorno*. *Books Abroad*, VII, 3, July, 1933, 353-354.
- Recent Spanish-American Bibliographies*:
- J. D. M. Ford, A. F. Whitem, and M. I. Raphael, *A Tentative Bibliography of Brazilian Belles-Lettres*;
- G. Rivera, *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Porto Rico*;
- A. Coester, *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Uruguay*;
- S. M. Waxman, *A Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of Santo Domingo*;
- S. E. Leavitt, *Hispano-American Literature in the United States. A Bibliography of Translations and Criticisms*;
- S. E. Leavitt, *A Tentative Bibliography of Peruvian Literature*;
- A. Torres-Rioseco, *Bibliografía de la Novela Mejicana*;
- J. D. M. Ford and M. I. Raphael, *A Bibliography of Cuban Belles-Lettres*;
- S. E. Leavitt, *A Tentative Bibliography of Bolivian Literature*;
- Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California. A Catalogue of Books*. Vol. I: *The General and Departmental Libraries*, Berkeley, California. Vol. II: *The Bancroft Library*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 237-243.
- The Tale of the Warrior Lord. El Cantar de Mio Cid*. Translated by Merriam Sherwood.
- Frank Callcott, *When Spain Was Young*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 266-267.
- Max Ríos Ríos, *La Bella Intrusa (Novela)*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 267-268.
- André Maurois, *Ni Ange, Ni Bête*. Edited . . . by J. G. Green. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 268-270.
- Lobos de Mar. Historias y aventuras contadas por Pío Baroja, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Benito Pérez Galdós, Juan Valera y José María de Pereda*. Selected and edited by O. K. Lundeborg. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 270-271.



- Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *El Final de Norma*. Edited . . . by P. T. Manchester and J. D. Hernández. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 271-273.
- F. C. Tarr and A. Centeno, *Impresiones de España, A Course in Spanish Composition*. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 3, July-September, 1933, 273.
- Trois Nouvelles de Gobineau. Edited . . . by A. H. Rowbotham. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 4, October-December, 1933, 374-376.
- J.-A. de Gobineau, *Le Prisonnier chanceux ou les Aventures de Jean de la Tour-Miracle*. Edited . . . by H. W. Church. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 4, October-December, 1933, 376-377.
- Jacinto Benavente, *Los Malhechores del bien*. Authorized edition, edited . . . by I. A. Leonard and R. K. Spaulding. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 4, October-December, 1933, 377-378.
- Fernán Caballero, *Cuentos de Encantamientos*. Edited by P. P. Rogers. *Romanic Review*, XXIV, 4, October-December, 1933, 378.
- Arthurian Romances:*  
*The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt by Thomas of Britain*. Translated from the Old French and Old Norse by Roger Sherman Loomis. Revised Edition; Gliglois. *A French Arthurian Romance of the Thirteenth Century*. Edited . . . by Charles H. Livingston. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 51-54.
- René Bray, *Chronologie du Romantisme (1804-1830)*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 63-64.
- Alfred Mortier, *Quinze Ans de Théâtre (1917-1932)*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 64-65.
- Paul Hazard, *Les Livres, les Enfants et les Hommes*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 65.
- Maria Jolly, *Die Stilmittel Alphonse Daudets in der Schilderung der Provence (Beiträge zur Kultur der Romania, Heft 3)*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 65-66.
- M. Romera-Navarro, *Antología de la Literatura Española desde los Orígenes hasta Principios del Siglo XIX*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 70-72.
- Armando Palacio Valdés, *Sinfonía Pastoral*. Edited by Joseph W. Barlow. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 72-73.
- Short Spanish Stories*. Edited . . . by M. A. De Vitis. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 73-74.
- La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*. Edited and Annotated by C. H. Grandgent . . . Revised edition. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 74.
- Georges Duhamel, *Confession de Minuit*. Edited by S. R. Cros and E. Preston. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 74-76.
- Edwin B. Williams, *French Short Stories of the Nineteenth Century*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 76.
- M. H. Ilsley and J. E. Franconie, *Contes et Nouvelles du XXe Siècle*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 76.
- G. Flaubert, *Trois Contes*. Edited by M. M. Miller. Preface by E. P. Dargan. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 1, January-March, 1934, 77.

- M. Romera-Navarro, *Antología de la Literatura Española desde los Orígenes hasta Principios del Siglo XIX*. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 38-39.
- J. M. Pittaro and A. Green, *Progressive Spanish*. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 39-40.
- Lawrence A. Wilkins, *Segundos Pasos en Español*. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 40-41.
- Popular Spanish Readings*. *El Libro Talonario, Golpe Doble, Zaragüeta, El Capitán Veneno, La Hermana San Sulpicio*. Edited . . . by N. B. Adams . . . with A. B. Adams. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 41-42.
- Serafin y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, *La Pícaro Vida, Comedia en cuatro actos*. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 32-34.
- M. Constantin-Weyer, *Un Homme se penche sur son passé*. Edited by E. G. Fay and E. B. Ham. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 3, July-September, 1934, 265.
- E. Golenistcheff-Koutousoff, *L'Histoire de Griseldis en France au XIVe et au XVe Siècle*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 417-418.
- Sœur M. L. Goudard, *Étude sur les "Épîtres Morales" d'Honoré d'Urfé*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 418-420.
- H. A. Grubbs, *Damien Mitton (1618-1690). Bourgeois Honnête Homme*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 420.
- Henri Peyre, *Lettres inédites de Louis Ménard*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 420-421.
- F. Bentmann, *Die Geschichte der Racine-Kritik in der französischen Romantik*. *Romanic Review*, XXV, 4, October-December, 1934, 421-422.
- A New Attitude Toward Spanish America:*
- Stephen Duggan, *The Two Americas. An Interpretation*;
- Harry F. Guggenheim, *The United States and Cuba. A Study in International Relations*. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 79-83.
- W. V. Smith and R. L. Grismer, *Tales of the Spanish Southwest. Stories of the Spanish Rule in California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas*. . . *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 83-85.
- Spanish Short Stories and Sketches*. Edited . . . by William E. Wilson. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 85-86.
- Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Short Stories*. Edited by A. Shapiro and F. J. Hurley. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 86-87.
- Teatro fácil*. Edited . . . by S. A. Wofsy. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 87-88.
- F. Courtney Tarr and Augusto Centeno, *Impresiones de España. A Course in Spanish Composition*. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 88.
- F. Courtney Tarr and A. Centeno, *A Graded Spanish Review Grammar with Composition*. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 88-89.
- Mariano José de Larra, *Macías, drama histórico en cuatro actos y en verso*. Edited . . . by J. H. Nunemaker and K. H. Vanderford. *Spanish Review*, II, 1, March, 1935, 54-55.
- L. A. Wilkins and A. L. de Oller, *Cuentecitos*. *Spanish Review*, II, 1, March, 1935, 55.
- L. A. Kasten and E. Neale-Silva, *Lecturas escogidas*. *Spanish Review*, II, 1, March, 1935, 55-56.

- Alberto Moravia, *The Indifferent Ones*. Translated from the Italian by Aida Mastrangelo. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 2, April-June, 1935, 158-160.
- Bernard Levy, *The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New Chapter on the History of the Théâtre de la Foire*. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 3, July-September, 1935, 265.
- E. Guilhaud, *L'Abbé Prévost en Hollande (avec des Documents nouveaux)*... *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 3, July-September, 1935, 265-266.
- Suzanne d'Oliviera Jackowska, *La Rehabilitation de Edgar Poe; Le Corbeau de Edgar Poe*. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 3, July-September, 1935, 266-267.
- The Survival of Humanism in Spain*: David Rubio, *Classical Scholarship in Spain*. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 4, October-December, 1935, 361-366.
- Theophile Gautier in Italy*: H. Bédarida, *Theophile Gautier et l'Italie*. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 4, October-December, 1935, 359-361.
- The Legend of the "Betrothed to the Holy Virgin"*: A. Wyrembek and J. Morawski, *Les Légendes du "Fiancé de la Vierge" dans la Littérature médiévale*. *Romanic Review*, XXVI, 4, October-December, 1935, 351-353.
- On the "Andalusian Colonization" of Spanish America: P. Henriquez Ureña, *Sobre el problema del andalucismo dialectal de América*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 111-114.
- R. S. Boggs y C. Castillo, *Leyendas épicas de España*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 114-115.
- Fernando Cortés, *Despatches from Mexico to Charles V*. Edited by A. Grove Day. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 115-116.
- Agustín Moreto, *El desdén con el desdén*. Edited... by W. K. Jones. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 116-117.
- Selections from the Picaresque Novel*. Edited... by G. T. Northup. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 117-118.
- Carolina Marcial Dorado, *Pasitos*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 118-119.
- S. E. Leavitt and S. A. Stoudemire, *Elements of Spanish*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 119.
- S. Cuthbertson and L. L. Cuthbertson, *Cuthbertson Verb Wheels*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 119-120.
- The Legend of the Hairy Anchorite in Germany and France*: C. A. Williams, *The German Legends of the Hairy Anchorite, with Two Old French Texts of "La Vie de Saint Jehan Paulus"*, edited by Louis Allen. *Romanic Review*, XXVII, 1, January-March, 1936, 33-36.
- Montaigne Before His Contemporaries*: Pierre Villey, *Montaigne devant la Postérité*. *Romanic Review*, XXVII, 1, January-March, 1936, 39-42.
- Victor Hugo *Before the Tribunals*: J. Hamelin, *Les Plaidoiries de Victor Hugo*, Préface de Fernand Payen. *Romanic Review*, XXVII, 1, January-March, 1936, 44-45.
- Toward a Revival of Incan Peru*: Carleton Beals, *Fire on the Andes*. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 46-50.
- A New Andalusian Play by the Quintero Brothers*: Serafin y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero, *La risa. Comedia en tres actos*. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 56-58.

- Thomas E. Oliver, *The Modern Language Teacher's Handbook*. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 58-59.
- Antología de ensayos españoles*. Notes and Vocabulary by Antonio Alonso. With a Critical Introduction by Federico de Onís. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 60.
- Nineteenth Century Spanish Plays*. Edited by Lewis E. Brett. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 60-61.
- M. Ugarte and M. Latorre, *Tres Cuentos Sud-Americanos*. Edited . . . by S. E. Leavitt. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 61-62.
- Selections from Armando Palacio Valdés*. Edited by Glenn Barr and H. J. Russell. *Spanish Review*, III, 1, March, 1936, 62.
- The Legend of St. Nicholas on the Medieval Stage*: O. E. Albrecht, *Four Latin Plays of St. Nicholas from the 12th-Century Fleury Play-Book*. *Romanic Review*, XVII, 2, April-June, 1936, 129-131.
- The "Four Daughters of God": New Versions of a Medieval Parable*: A. Långfors, *Notice des Manuscrits 535 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz et 10047 des nouvelles Acquisitions du Fond français de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Suivie de cinq Poèmes français sur la Parabole des "Quatre Filles de Dieu"*. *Romanic Review*, XXVII, 2, April-June, 1936, 131-132.
- A Book of Homage to the Romanticist, José Zorrilla: Amigos de Zorrilla* (Valladolid), *Colección de artículos dedicados al poeta*. *Romanic Review*, XXVII, 2, April-June, 1936, 132-135.
- MISCELLANEOUS:
- Spanish Club Activities in New York Institutions*. *Spanish Review*, I, 1, March, 1934, 42-46; I, 2, November, 1934, 89-94.
- In Memoriam: S. L. Millard Rosenberg; Arthur L. Owen; William R. Shephard*. *Spanish Review*, I, 2, November, 1934, 94-95.
- Spanish Activities: Societies and Reviews*. *Spanish Review*, II, 2, November, 1935, 123-125.

## SWETS & ZEITLINGER BOOKSELLERS

### OFFER FOR SALE THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIONS:

- Société des Anciens textes français*, Publications, 1875-1934, complete collection, Bound £ 65. —, —  
(Most volumes are available separately).
- Bibliothèque de Pécole des chartes*, Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement à l'étude du  
moyen âge, Volumes 1-95, 1839-1935, Bound up to 1913 ..... £ 80. —, —
- Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* publiés par A. Petitot et Mommerqué,  
Paris, 1819-1829, 131 volumes, Bound ..... £ 35. —, —
- Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge* publiés sous la direction de L. Halphen,  
Volumes 1-12, Paris, 1923-1930 ..... £ 3. 5. —
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye des Saints Pères de Chartres*, publié p. B. Guérard, 1841, 2 volumes,  
4 to ..... £ 4. —, —
- Cartulaire Lyonnais*, Documents inédits, publié p. M. C. Guigue, Lyon, 1893, 2 vol-  
umes, 4 to ..... £ 5. —, —
- Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres* publié p. L. Merlet et de Lépinos, 1861-1865,  
3 volumes ..... £ 6. —, —
- Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Paris* publié p. Guérard, Paris, 1850, 4 volumes, 4 to ..... £ 7. —, —
- Revue britannique*, Volumes 1-77, Paris, 1849-1901; 105 volumes; Boards (This pub-  
lication is no longer issued) ..... £ 18. —, —
- Revue de Paris*, 1894 (origine) — 1931, complete set, 185 volumes, Bound, remainder  
in parts as issued ..... £ 40. —, —
- Rivista indo-greca italica di filologia, lingua, antichità*, Volumes 1-15, 1917-1931. .... £ 20. —, —

Depository for Holland, the Dutch colonies, South Africa,  
Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Northern Europe for:  
*Romanic Review*; *Spanish Review*  
*Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc.*

Address inquiries and orders to:

N. V. SWETS & ZEITLINGER  
471 Keizersgracht, Amsterdam, Holland, Europe

MARTINUS NIJHOFF *Publisher*

THE HAGUE

### LEUVENSCHÉ BIJDAGEN

PERIODICAL FOR MODERN PHILOLOGY

(founded 1896)

#### EDITORS

L. GOEMANS, A. CARNOY, A. NOYONS, J. MANSION, J. SCHRIJNEN, H. DE  
VOCHT, J. VAN DE WIJER, A. BOON, J. KLEYNTJENS,  
and L. GROOTAERS, Director

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY, with a SEPARATE SUPPLEMENT  
FOUR PARTS form a VOLUME of about 320 pp., large 8vo

Price per volume, 9 guilders (15 sh.)

The "Louvain Studies" contain contributions in English, German, French or Dutch, about all sections of modern German and Romance philology. Special attention is given to the more recent branches: dialectology, experimental phonetics, psychological linguistics, semasiology, etc. The "Supplement" contains reviews, bibliographies, etc.

SPECIMEN COPY free on APPLICATION

For Progressive Teachers of French

## The French Review

Official organ of the American Association of Teachers of French.  
Published six times a year — October to May.

Covers Methods, Research, Realia in the Teaching of the French language, literature, and civilization, in High School, College and University.

Subscription price, \$2.50 a year.

The French Review is an excellent Advertising Medium for Publishers, Booksellers, Steamship Companies, Tourist Agencies, etc. For advertising rates, address:

Alfred Iacuzzi, Business Manager  
The College of the City of New York,  
17 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

## REVUE ANGLO-AMÉRICAINÉ

PARAISANT TOUS LES DEUX MOIS

Directeurs L. CAZAMIAN et C. CESTRE, Professeurs de Sorbonne

La Revue Anglo-Américaine est entrée en Octobre 1930 dans sa huitième année.

Seule revue française consacrée uniquement aux questions de littérature et de civilisation anglaises et américaines, elle paraît en 6 numéros d'au moins 96 pages, dont chacun contient des articles de fond, des notes et documents, des comptes-rendus, faits par des spécialistes, des livres importants publiés en Angleterre, en Amérique et en France, une revue des revues anglaises, américaines et françaises, et un bulletin signalant les faits principaux qui peuvent intéresser les français qui s'occupent des questions anglaises et américaines.

La Revue Anglo-Américaine a été conçue pour permettre de se tenir au courant du mouvement littéraire et du mouvement des idées en Angleterre et en Amérique. Elle s'occupe des grands auteurs classiques, discute les travaux d'histoire littéraire et linguistique, mais en même temps elle est très ouverte aux tentatives les plus récentes des auteurs contemporains et des jeunes, avec lesquels bon nombre de ses collaborateurs sont en relations personnelles.

Un des plus éminents historiens anglais de la littérature, écrivait dernièrement: «The articles seem to me of a surprisingly high standard». Les revues américaines citent ses articles et ses comptes-rendus, et la considèrent comme une des plus importantes revues littéraires d'Europe. La Quinzaine critique et littéraire (25 Mars) constate que la Revue Anglo-Américaine contient «une masse de compte-rendus très bien faits et indispensables à classer dans les archives d'histoire littéraire». D'Angleterre, d'Amérique, d'Allemagne, de Pologne viennent les appréciations les plus flatteuses, et certains romanciers anglais, certains poètes américains ont bien voulu écrire à la Revue Anglo-Américaine qu'en aucune revue de leur pays ils n'avaient trouvé une compréhension plus éclairée de leur œuvre.

En 1929-1930 (l'année commence avec le n° d'Octobre) la Revue Anglo-Américaine a publié 19 articles de fond; 9 notes et documents (dont plusieurs inédits importants d'auteurs anglais); 190 comptes-rendus de livres, plus 42 notices plus brèves; 191 analyses de revues ou de journaux; 37 articles dans le bulletin.

*La Revue Anglo-Américaine ne publie que de l'inédit.*

L'abonnement, qui part d'Octobre, est de 55 francs pour la France et 90 francs pour l'étranger.

Aux Presses Universitaires, 49 Boulevard St. Michel, Paris.



*"The outstanding general journal of modern foreign language teaching"—that is why nearly 3000 teachers of German, French, Spanish, or Italian in schools and colleges, and several hundred school, college, and public libraries, subscribe for*

## THE MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL

Published by the National Federation of Modern Teachers

8 issues a year, October to May, inclusive

(Publication date, the 15th of months named)

Up-to-date and authoritative material on methods, materials,  
research, publications, and textbooks in the field

\$2.00 a year; foreign countries, including Canada, \$2.50, in U. S. A. funds,  
payable in advance

Sample copy on request

"VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDENTS," by Schwartz, Wilkins, and Bovée, a report issued under the auspices of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers, is a frank and honest answer to the vocational phase of the question, "What is the practical value of modern foreign language study?" Also, "A BASIC FRENCH VOCABULARY." Each of these pamphlets is obtainable from the office of the Journal. Price, 25 cents postpaid, payable in advance.

## THE MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL

GEORGE W. H. SHIELD, Business Manager

1537 West 46th Street

Los Angeles, California

"Every Teacher of German, French, Spanish or Italian Needs  
*The Modern Language Journal*"

## REVISTA HISPÁNICA MODERNA

Se publica trimestralmente con el objeto de estudiar y difundir la cultura hispánica. Contiene artículos, reseñas de libros y noticias sobre la literatura de hoy; una bibliografía hispanoamericana que aspirará a ser completa; noticias acerca del hispanismo en América; y una sección escolar dedicada a los estudiantes de español.

Director: FEDERICO DE ONÍS

Secretario de Redacción: JUAN GUERRERO RUIZ

### PRECIO DE SUSCRIPCIÓN

Estados Unidos: \$4.00 al año; número suelto: \$1.00.—Tirada aparte de la bibliografía hispanoamericana: \$1.00 al año; número suelto: \$0.35.

España: 20 pesetas al año; número suelto: 5 pesetas.—Tirada aparte de la bibliografía hispanoamericana: 5 pesetas; número suelto: 1.50 pesetas.

### REDACCIÓN Y ADMINISTRACIÓN:

CASA DE LAS ESPAÑAS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
435 West 117th Street, New York City  
Estados Unidos

EN ESPAÑA:  
Gabriel Miró, 5  
Alicante

# ANNOUNCING

## MANUEL DE LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISE

By

PHILIP H. CHURCHMAN, Clark University;  
J. P. LECOQ, Drake University; and  
CHARLES E. YOUNG, University of Wisconsin, Extension Division

A very conveniently arranged handbook which presents in French a survey of French literary history. It is systematically organized for rapid reference as well as for intensive study. All the essential facts are included and are presented chronologically. A separate summary of the development of the various types of literature is given, in addition to definitions of important topics and lists of discussion-provoking questions. The vocabulary has been made to conform to the standards set in late years for the first two years of college French.

**D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY**

35 West 32nd St., New York

2126 Prairie Ave., Chicago

## HISPANIC REVIEW

*A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Research in the Hispanic  
Languages and Literatures*

Published by the  
University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia

*Editor*

J. P. Wickersham Crawford

*Assistant Editors*

M. Romero-Navarro

Otis H. Green

*Associate Editors*

Milton A. Buchanan  
Alfred Coester  
J. D. M. Ford  
Joseph E. Gillet  
Harry C. Heaton

Hayward Keniston  
Rudolph Schevill  
Antonio G. Solalinde  
F. Courtney Tarr  
Charles P. Wagner

Subscription price, \$4.00 a year; single issue, \$1.25.

*Address inquiries and orders to:*

Professor Edwin B. Williams,  
Business Manager,  
College Hall,  
University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia.

*New Reading Texts in*  
**FRENCH    SPANISH    ITALIAN**

**DEVAL: TOVARITCH**

edited by FRÉDÉRIC ERNST and  
HÉLÈNE HARVITT

The international comedy success  
now playing in New York. Edited  
for use in intermediate French  
classes.

**\$1.12**

**CULTURAL SPANISH READER**

by W. S. HENDRIX

A very easy first reader which  
covers Spanish history, art, litera-  
ture, etc. in a thorough and inter-  
esting fashion. Carefully selected  
vocabulary.

**\$1.24**

Paper-bound \$0.80

**DAUDET: LE PETIT CHOSE**

edited by LILLIAN McALLESTER

A new, abridged, but otherwise  
unchanged edition of a favorite  
story. Features intensive exer-  
cises for the study of the text as  
*language*.

**\$0.96**

**MORETO: EL DESDEN CON  
EL DESDEN**

edited by W. K. JONES

"It was an excellent idea to pub-  
lish this delightful play, which I  
am sure will interest students and  
help them to become acquainted  
with the Spanish classical thea-  
ter."

(Angel del Río,  
Columbia University)  
**\$1.00**

**MAUROIS: CLIMATS**

edited by W. L. WILEY and  
R. W. LINKER

An outstanding psychological  
novel from contemporary French  
literature. The ease and sim-  
plicity of Maurois' style make it  
suitable for second year classes.

**\$1.00**

**VITA ITALIANA**

by ANTONIO MARINONI

A simple book which enables the  
beginner to read Italian with ease,  
and introduces him to some inter-  
esting aspects of modern Italian  
life.

**\$1.12**

**HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY**

**257 FOURTH AVENUE**

**NEW YORK**

# Recent Heath Publications

---



## Published in June

**SERONDE AND PEYRE'S**

**NINE CLASSIC FRENCH PLAYS**

*Le Cid . . . Horace . . . Polyeucte . . . Les Précieuses Ridicules . . . Le Misanthrope . . . Le Tartuffe . . . Andromaque . . . Phèdre . . . Esther.*  
The unusually complete editorial material represents both the French and American points of view and gives the student an insight into the true meaning of French Classicism. \$2.20

## Published in September

**PAGNOL'S**

**TOPAZE**

*Edited by A. G. BOVÉE, The University of Chicago.* Intermediate students will enjoy the delightful situations and clever satire of this play in the idiomatic Parisian French of today. Illustrated with "stills" from the film production. \$1.00

## Published in November

**MAUPASSANT'S**

**SIX CONTES CHOISIS**

*In the HEATH VISIBLE VOCABULARY FRENCH SERIES*

*Edited by F. B. BARTON, University of Minnesota.* *La Parure, Mon Oncle Jules, La Ficelle, Deux Amis, Mademoiselle Perle, En Voyage.* These popular stories will be read with even greater enjoyment in this visible vocabulary edition. Opposite each page of text are the vocabulary and notes for that page. Paper, \$ .40; limp cloth, \$ .48

---

*A Reminder*

**OLIVER'S**

**THE MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHER'S  
HAND BOOK**

Place it beside your dictionaries to answer any practical question pertaining to your profession. \$3.60

**D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY**

Boston New York Chicago Atlanta San Francisco Dallas London



C51

0E2E  
1328  
2E32  
3235  
4538  
585  
6358

0E2E  
1328  
2E32  
3235  
4538  
585  
6358